

A SKETCH
OF THE
HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE

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PREFACE.

THE following pages were written as an article on the Hindustani language for the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This will explain many of their deficiencies in matter and style, the utmost conciseness of expression having been aimed at, and everything which could, in the writer's opinion, be omitted as not absolutely essential having been cut out. Even after the compression to which the article was subjected in MS., it was deemed by the Editor too detailed and minute in its treatment for insertion in the *Encyclopædia*.

Believing that the article may have some interest and utility for students of the most widely-spoken vernacular language of India, the writer gladly availed himself of the offer of the publishers of the *Encyclopædia* to issue it in a book form. It will be seen from the frequent statement of authorities that the sketch contains little original matter; and on all points connected with the history of the language the writer has been content to follow those guides who seemed to him best qualified. His own attainments are confined to such a knowledge of the language as a vernacular speech, as could be gained by constant daily

use of it in eleven years of service in India, and some acquaintance with the literature both of former times and of the present day.

The article was finished in October 1879, and it has not, owing to the writer's return to India, been possible to utilize for it any authorities of later date. To those named at the end, should be added Dr A. F. R. Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gandian Languages, with special reference to Eastern Hindi*, which, however, the writer has not yet seen.

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HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE.

HINDUSTANI (correctly Hindostānī¹) is the name given by Europeans to the most generally spoken and understood of the modern Aryan languages of India. According to its etymology it should designate the tongue spoken in that part of India which was called by the Mughal (Mogul) historians Hindostān, viz., the tract bounded on the N. by the Himālaya, on the E. by Bengal, on the S. by the Vindhya or the Dakkhan, and on the W. by the Panjab, and this region is in fact the original seat of the language. But outside these boundaries the use of Hindustani is widespread: it is very generally spoken and understood throughout Bengal, more especially by the Musalman population in the eastern districts: it is rapidly

¹ *Hindostān* is a Persian compound signifying "country of the Hindus." The word is

and *Hindū*.

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now called, with the omission of two (probably the Saraswati and Drishadwati or Ghaggar), the Panjab.

Hindustani is, as has been said, rather the European than the native appellation: the various forms of the language are by native authors called by different names, and it may be doubted whether the name Hindustani is ever used except under European influence. The dialect written in the Persian character, largely stocked with Persian words and phrases, and spoken chiefly in towns and by Musalmāns or Hindūs imbued with Persian culture, is known as *Urdū*, a name said to be derived from the *Urdū-e mu'allā*, or royal military bazaar outside the fortified royal palace at Dehli. This language, when used in poetry, is called *Rekhtah* ("crumbled," "scattered," from the manner in which the vernacular is strewn with Persian importations), and when the poems are written in the special dialect of the *zanānah*, which has a vocabulary of its own, it is named *Rekhtī* (a feminine, in a diminutive sense, of *Rekhtah*). In the region to the south of the Narmadā the same language is called *Dakhnī* ("belonging to the Dakkhan or Deccan"); though also written in the Persian character, this variety of *Urdū* retains a much larger proportion of Indian (as opposed to Persian) words, and is altogether more archaic in its grammatical forms, than the language of the North; a certain proportion of its peculiarities must be ascribed to its separate development as the tongue of Muhammadan colonies severed for some centuries from their original country. On the other hand, that form of Hindustani which employs the Deva-nāgarī character or varieties of it, and is used chiefly by Hindūs, is denominated by Europeans *Hindī*, and by the natives generally (in its literary form) *bhūshū* (or *bhākhā*), that is, "the language" *par excellence*. *Hindī*, indeed, being merely an Arabic relative adjective from *Hind*, India, should by right be as applicable to any form of Hindustani as to the peculiar dialect of the Hindūs, and is in fact used by native authors in this sense.

Of *Hindī* (as above defined) there are many varieties, and on the boundaries of the Hindustani-speaking area it shades off almost imperceptibly into the cognate dialects. The following types are the most important:—

(1) The so-called High *Hindī*, which agrees in its grammatical structure with *Urdū*, but where the latter recruits its vocabulary

from Persian prefers to borrow from Sanskrit. So far as this represents an actually spoken dialect, it may be considered the

language of the Central Dvāb which holds a

into which

(6) and (7) The hill dialects of Garhwāl and Kumāun, which shew affinities rather with Mārāri and Mewāri than with the neighbouring dialects of the plains

(8) Nepālī, the language of Nepāl

(9) Awadhī or Bāuswāri, the dialect of Oudh (Awadh) and Eastern Ruhelkhand.

The local varieties of dialect in Hindī are as yet far from having been thoroughly investigated; only two or three of them have any literature, and in the mouths of the people the language changes, both as to form and vocabulary, every few miles. It is, however, believed that those above mentioned are the main types to which local variations may be referred; and at any rate they are the only forms as yet available for study by Europeans. The first eight may be classed together as belonging to a western, and the remaining four to an eastern group of dialects.

Besides the above named varieties of Urdū and Hindī, which are all living and spoken languages, there exist others which are now represented only by literary memorials. Such is the language of the heroic ballads of Rājputānā, among which are to be found some of the oldest specimens of Hindī; that of the *Bhagats* or Vaiṣṇava religious reformers, the most important of whom, from a literary point of view, are Kabīr and Sūr-Dās; that of Tulsī-Dās, the author of the *Rāmāyan*, the most popular work in Hindī. The language of Tulsī-Dās belongs mainly to the eastern type now represented by Awadhī and Bhojpuri, and is de-

nominated by Mr Kellogg (the chief and almost the only authority on Hindī dialects) *Old Pūrbī*; while that of Chand and the Bhagats is of the western type. Dr Trumpp, the translator of the *Ādi Granth*, has proposed to call the extinct dialects of the language *Hindūī*, which again he divides into *Old Hindūī*, comprising the specimens down to the close of the period of the Bhagats and the redaction of the *Ādi Granth* (about 1600), and *Hindūī*, comprising the speech of Tulsī-Dās and his contemporaries and followers down to about 1750. But this division, however convenient, does not appear to represent any actual sharp line of demarcation; the type of the language proceeds from archaic to modern by insensible gradations.

It has been said that few of these dialects have any literature; of most of them the systematic study has only recently begun. Urdū, with its varieties of Rekhtah and Dakhnī, counts a long roll of writers; grammars and dictionaries of it are easily accessible. High Hindī, as distinguished from Urdū, is an idiom of recent growth, owing its literary cultivation in a great measure to the influence of the educational department in Northern India, and to the development of a Hindū opposition to Muhammadan forms of expression. Of Old Hindūī the specimens accessible to Europeans are not numerous. A portion of the *Prithirāj Rāsan*, an heroic poem describing the career of the last Hindū king of Dehli, ascribed to Chand, has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The *Ādi Granth*, which embodies many valuable specimens of Old Hindūī in the poems of the Bhagats, has been partially translated into English by Dr Ernest Trumpp; the original text has recently been lithographed at Lahore, and a small portion of it has been appended by Dr Trumpp to his translation. Portions of the poems of Kabīr and his followers have been printed in India, but are seldom to be found, except in manuscript, in Europe. Of later Hindūī literature (Sūr-Dās, Tulsī-Dās, &c.) and of compositions in modern Braj-bhāshā, there are many specimens, both printed and lithographed, to be found in any bazaar in India; the best known prose work in the last named dialect is the *Rājnīti* of Lallū Lāl. Of the other Hindī dialects our

knowledge is derived mainly from the grammar of Mr

have been prepared under the direction of missionaries ; of one, Mārwārī, we have a valuable specimen in a collection of *Khiyāts* or dramas edited by the Rev. J. Robson of the Presbyterian mission at Beāwar (*Mission Press*, 1866)

For the best account as yet given of the manifold dialects of Hindustani, the reader is referred to Mr Kellogg's grammar. The two represented by Urdu and its literature

tory of the formation of the language.

2. Though the vocabulary of Hindustani is largely recruited from Persian, and, through Persian, from Arabic, its grammar and phonetic structure are wholly of indigenous growth. To Sanskrit and Prākṛit it bears the same relationship as that borne by the Romance Languages to Classical and Low Latin ; and the parallel between the two lines of descent, both in phonetic degradation and the modern growth of analytic grammatical forms, is in many respects strikingly close. As in the case of the Romance Languages,

in the germ almost all the modern developments, though their general structure still bears clear marks of the recent growth of the language out of the synthetic Prākṛit. These oldest specimens are, moreover (like all Hindustani literature down to very recent times), in verse, and it must remain in some degree uncertain how far peculiarities of spelling and structure are merely to be attributed to poetic licence. The very unsettled state of the orthography of Hindī, and the possibility that in the transmission of ancient works their style has been modernized, also help to make the historical study of Old Hindī a subject in which absolute certainty is difficult of attainment ; and although the few original materials which we possess are of the

greatest value, perhaps the clearest light is cast upon the historical development of the language by the actually subsisting dialectic forms of Hindī and those of its sisters, Gujarātī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Marāṭhī, Bengali, and Oṛiyā.

In ancient Aryan India Sanskrit ceased at a very early date to be the vernacular speech. Already at the appearance of Gautama Buddha (about 650 B.C.) the language current in what is now Eastern Oudh and Bihār was a Prākṛit, and that form of the vulgar tongue, or another nearly related, became the sacred language of the Buddhists under the name of Māgadhī or Pālī. At a later date another Prākṛit, that of the south-western area corresponding to Southern Rājputānā and Gujarāt, became the literary language of the Jaina sect. And still more recently the dramatists of Mālwa employed a further development of the same stock as the idiom of the menial and female characters in their plays. Grammars of Prākṛit, discussing minutely its relation to Sanskrit, were drawn up by Kachchāyana, Vararuchi, Hemachandra, and others; and in the different forms of the dialects known by this common name we have the beginning and development of almost all the processes which brought into being Hindī and its sister languages. In the present article an attempt is made to trace the operation of these processes, first in regard to sounds, and secondly in the grammar in the typical instances of the inflexion of the noun and the verb, in modern Hindī.

3. Native grammarians divide words into the following classes :—

1. *Tat-samas*, or "the same as that," i.e., Sanskrit;
2. *Tad-bhavas*, or "of the nature of that";
3. *Deśajas*, or "country-born";

to which should be added, as a fourth class, words of foreign (almost entirely Persian) origin. *Tatsamas* are Sanskrit words used in Hindustani without any further alteration than the loss of inflexion, as *darśan*, *pītū*, *mātū*, *kṛishṇa*. *Tadbhavas* are words of Sanskrit origin which have undergone some organic change in passing over into Hindī, as *dekh-nū*, *pīn*, *mān*, *kishan*, *kānū*. *Deśaja* are words of which no Sanskrit original is traceable, as *paṅgū*, *ṣhaṅgū*, *ḍoṅgū*. Of these classes by far the largest is the

second. The tatsamas are all of late adoption, and either express ideas the necessity of words for which has only recently been felt, or replace tadbhavas which have fallen into disuse. The *desaja* element is comparatively small, and recent importation has turned back to Sanskrit's through

with tadbhavas to the exclusion of tatsamas, while the proportion of the latter is largest in modern prose works on religion, science, and the like. To the tadbhavas consequently we must look for the history of the language.

But tadbhavas, again, are of different degrees of phonetic modification as compared with Sanskrit. They fall into two classes :—(1) those which agree with the form which the Sanskrit word takes in Prakrit, and (2) those which retain something which Prakrit had rejected. Thus, of the first class we have such words as *rāu* (Pk. *rāa*, Sk. *rājā*), *sab* (Pk. *sabba*, Sk. *sarva*), *lānh* (Pk. *kanho*, Sk. *krishnah*), *mogrā* (Pk. *muggaro*, Sk. *mudgarah*), *nai* (Pk. *naī*, Sk. *nadi*), *nayar*, *ner* (Pk. *naaram*, Sk. *nagaram*); of the second, *rāj* (in Old Hindi for *rājā*), *sarab*, *kishan*, *mugdar*, *nadi*, *nagar*. These are instances in which both forms of the same word are found: but in a larger proportion the modern languages have no form corresponding to the Prakrit, while that which exists has nevertheless dropped or modified something of the Sanskrit; e.g., the Sk. *bhaktah* is in Pk. *bhatto*, but in Hindi *bhagat*; Sk. *śakatah* is Pk. *śaṭṭho*, but Hindi *sagad*; Sk. *dharmaḥ* is Pk. *dhammo*, but Hindi *dharam*. We may therefore divide tadbhavas into (1) the *early*, or those which came through Prakrit, and (2) the *late*, or those which came direct from Sanskrit after the Prakrit stage had been passed.

It is obvious that some special cause must have brought about a fresh importation direct from Sanskrit of a stock of words for which Prakrit equivalents had previously been used. Mr Beames¹ suggests with great probability that

¹ *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, vol. I. pp. 14-17.

this importation of late tadbhavas was due to the re-establishment of Brahmanism after the extirpation of the once dominant Buddhism, about the 9th or 10th century of our era, and therefore at the time when the modern Aryan vernaculars were coming into being. Prākṛit was the language of Buddhist literature, and would thus share the fate of the faith it expressed; the revival of Sanskrit learning which accompanied the re-establishment of the brahmanical creed would lead, as within the last fifty years it has again led, to the use of Sanskrit in preference to Prākṛit forms; and finally, the extreme degree to which the rejection of unsupported consonants had been carried in Prākṛit, and the consequent confusion in the form of many words, would make welcome a change which effected greater clearness and robustness in speech.

The foreign element is sometimes described as Persian and Arabic; but no borrowing direct from the latter language has ever taken place in Hindustani. Of the Arabic words in Indian tongues generally (except possibly in Sindhi) it may be said—"nihil est in Indicā linguā quod non prius erat in Persicā." Such words are pronounced in India with the modifications (if any) already introduced in Persian, and not as by natives of Arabia; and where they have acquired a special and non-Arabic sense in the former language, they retain it in Hindustani. Persian was early overrun by Arabic vocabularies, and Firdausi's great poem was a protest (and an ineffectual one) against a usage already well established rather than a specimen of the language current in his day. These words were carried together with their own speech into India by its conquerors, and soon became naturalized there. No genuine old Hindi literature is free from such importations. They abound in Chānd (about 1250 A.D.), the singer of the last stand made by the native princes of the North against the invader. The verses of Kabir (about 1506) and his followers are even more copiously stocked with them. Tulsī-Dās (about 1600), though his theme, having been already treated in the sacred Sanskrit by his predecessor Vālmīki, supplied him with fewer occasions for their introduction, neverthe-

utterance ; English is still more strange to their lips, and assumes in the written character forms which would be unrecognizable to one unacquainted with Indian phonetics.

The Persian of India, from which the Indian vernaculars have been recruited, differs in many respects, both as to sound, idiom, and vocabulary, from that now spoken in Erān. The sounds especially exhibit a more archaic form of the language. Thus the distinction between *ī* and *e* and *ū* and *o*, and the nasal *n*, or *nūn-i ghunnah*, after long vowels, the due observance of which is enjoined by the classical grammarians and essential to the prosody of all classical Persian poetry, have been retained in India, though now altogether absent from the language of Erān.

Hardly any other foreign language besides Persian has contributed to the vocabulary of Hindustani. Turkish words, notwithstanding the nationality of many of the rulers of Dehli, are singularly few ; of Pukhto or Afghān there is probably not a single specimen. A small number of Portuguese words have made their way inland from the seaports ; and a few English terms are gradually establishing themselves in the mouths of the people.

4. The sounds of Hindustani are essentially those of Sanskrit ; some of those found in the latter tongue have, however, disappeared from the former. Thus, among vowels *lī*, *lī*, and *ṛī* do not exist in the modern tongue, while *ṛī* is undistinguishable from *ri*, with which it is constantly assimilated in writing. *Anuswāra* and *Anunāsika* are generally confounded in writing (the sign of the former being used for both), though not in utterance ; the former is rarely met with, being perhaps restricted to a few words where it occurs before *h* and *s* (as सिंह, संहार, pronounced, and often written, *singh*, *sanghār*, वंश, अंश).¹ *Visarga* is inaudible, though counted in prosody. Among the consonants, the cerebral letters ङ and ढ have developed sounds of *ṅ* and *ṅh*, which exist side by side with the

¹ When this sign is merely a substitute in writing for a nasal of one of the five organs (as गंगा, पिंजरा, घंटा, दंतान, लंबा) it is not really anuswāra.

original *ṛ* and *ṛh*, and are indicated by a dot below the letters, thus—*ṛṛ*. Of the nasals, *ṛ* and *ṛh* are generally expressed by anuswāra, and *ṛ* is in all tadbhavas represented by *ṛ*, remaining only in tatsamas, and in them even being hardly distinguished in the popular speech. *ṛ* is very generally, though not universally, pronounced as *f*. *ṛ* stands midway between *v* and *w*, the former sound, or even *b*, being preferred before *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ai*, and the latter before *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū*, *o*, *au*. In the sibilants there is some confusion; *ṣ* has been generally appropriated to the sound of *śh* (as in *śhalī*), while *ṣ* is used to represent *ṣh* *ṣh*. The tendency in the vulgar speech is to use *ṣ* for all the original sibilants of Sanskrit and for the Persian *śh* *ش*.¹

In foreign words the vulgar speech replaces the Persian and Arabic consonants by the nearest indigenous equivalents. *ث*, *ص*, and *س* are all rendered by *ṣ*; *ح* and *خ* by *ḥ*; *ت* and *ط* by *t*; *ز*, *ذ*, *ض*, and *ظ* by *j*; *غ* by *g*; *ق* by *k* and sometimes *ḥ* (as *वखत* for *وقت*); *خ* by *ḥ*

¹ In this article the usual system of transliteration is followed in the vowels; in the consonants, no distinction has been made between *ṛ*, *ṛh*, and *ṛ*, as the first two are never found except in conjunction with the tenuis, medial, or aspirates of their respective *vargas* *ṛ* has been used for *ṛ* and *ṛh*.

indicating length. In Sanskrit words *ṛ* is represented by *ṛ*, in Hindi words by *śh*. *ṛ* is in Sanskrit words *śh*; in Hindi it does not occur except with the value *ṣh*.

² There are signs of a tendency in Old Hindi to express foreign *ṣ* by *ṛ*. Thus *कागद* stands for *کاغذ*, *हादर* for *حاضر*, *बदर* for *بحر*, *नदर* for *نظر*, and *कादी* for *قاضی* (last four from *Grantha*).

and often क (वक्स for بخش). ع' when initial is unheard, and when preceded by a vowel lengthens it. Nexus of consonants, when offering any difficulty, is treated as in Sanskrit tadbhavas, by separating the consonants by a short vowel. In Urdū, however, the pronunciation follows that current in Persian, and the proper sounds of ز (ذ, ض, ظ), خ, and غ, and to a less degree those of ق and ع, have become fairly naturalized in Hindostan.

The sounds of short *e* and *o*, common in Prākṛit, can hardly be said to exist in Hindustani, except in the dialects ; short *e* is heard in Awadhī in a few words, and elsewhere in some diminutives. Almost the only irregularity in the Hindustani vowel-system is the tendency of च followed by ह to fall into ए; thus रहना, सहना, are almost *rehnā*, *sehnā*; فتح, صبح (with the nexus split by short *a*) are invariably *fate*, *sube*.

A full account of sound changes, as between Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Hindī, would be a complete history of the growth of the forms of the last named language out of its predecessors. For such an account the materials are still far from sufficient. The only systematic treatment of modern Indian sounds in connexion with Prākṛit which has yet been attempted is contained in the first volume of Mr Beames's *Comparative Grammar*; and the following summary of the principal facts is almost entirely based on the examples there collected.

A. Vowel Changes.

Vowel changes in Hindī are few and of slight importance, except in connexion with change of consonants. In general the Sanskrit vowel is retained both in Prākṛit and Hindī, with such modification in its quantity only as is called for by the effect of phonetic laws on the adjacent consonants. Where Prākṛit has modified the Sanskrit vowel, the modification generally reappears in Hindī. There is a tendency in the latter language, more especially in the western dialects and the older speech, to substitute *i* for *a* in unaccented syllables; and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, where original and not the result of processes due to Hindī, are regularly replaced by *e* and *o*.¹ The vowel *ri* is treated in two ways in the modern language: it is either dealt with as *ri*, when the *r* is preceded by another consonant is, as usual in such a position, dropped, or, as often happens

¹ *Āi* is similarly treated in loan-words: Shaikh, Husain, Sulaimān, are in Hindī pronounced Shekh, Husen, Sulemān.

and $a+u$, resulting from $a+y$ and $a+v$ when the y and v are vocalized, do not as a rule form, as in Sanskrit, e and o , but ai and au : as nayan, nain; samaya, samai; sapatnī, savattī, saut; apara, avara, aur. Where in consequence of the rejection of one of two assimilated consonants in a nexus the preceding vowel is lengthened, the result is often the *guṇa*-form rather than the long simple vowel: *e.g.*, śimbā, H. sem; vilvā, H. bel; kushfa, H. korh; sunthi, H. soñth; pushkara, H. polkar, pokhar. Dissimilar vowels sometimes coalesce: as $u+a$ into o in suvarnam, H. sonā, and the instances soñdhā and Soron above cited; $i+a$ into e , as vyanga, H. beñg; dwyarddham, divaddhe, diaddhe, H. derh; vyūpārī, H. bepārī.

B. Consonantal Changes.

Changes in consonants differ according as the consonants in question occur singly or as members of a combination. Changes in single consonants are of two kinds: (a) those which result from the position of the consonant in the word, whether initial, medial, or final; and (b) those which are irrespective of position, and depend on differences in the organ of utterance.

I. *Single Consonants*.—a. *Positional changes*. Initial consonants are generally unchanged, whether in early or late tadbhavas; in a few cases an aspirate has been thrown back from the body of the word to the first letter, as in griha, ghar, duhitā, dhīyā, and there are examples of the reverse process, as bhaginī, bahin (for bhañi).

Medial consonants are either retained, softened (the tennes to mediæ, the mediæ to semi-vowels and vowels), or disappear altogether. The cases of retention of the unaspirated letters of the five *vargas* are comparatively few, except with the cerebrals, to which the rule as to elision does not apply. च is the letter which most often survives in the modern tongue, though in Prākṛit this also goes out; nasals, semi-vowels, sibilants, and h are generally retained. Softening is a process of which, more especially with the gutturals, cerebrals, and labials, there are many examples: kāka, kāk; kaṅkāla, kaṅgāl; paryanka, palaṅg; kunchikā, kuñji; kaṭi, kīrā; karpata, kaprā; kaṭāha, karāh; vata, bar; ghata, gharā. P generally passes into v , and often thence into u : *e.g.*, kapāta, kiwār; tripāthi, tiwārī; sapādika, sawā; tāpa, tāw, tāu; śapatha (Pk. savaho) soñh; kapardda, kaurī; sapatnī (Pk. savattī), saut. Examples of the change of t to d are rare; generally the d produced in Prākṛit by the softening of t fell out before the stage was reached at which the modern language arose: thus in Pāli the 3d. pers. sing. present of verbs ends in *-adī* for the Sk. *-ati*; but in later Pk. this became *ai*, and in Hindi *ai*, *e*.

Elision is in Prākṛit the general rule, and Hindi in this particular faithfully follows its parent. In the former language elision occurs with all the unaspirated gutturals, palatals, dentals, and labials, and with च and व (regarded as ज and व). Several instances in Hindi

have already been given above, and the following may be added.—

Elision of *k*: *kokila*, *koli*; *suvarnakāra*, *sonār*; *kumbhakāra*, *kumhār* (and so all nouns in -kāra indicating trades and occupations).
 " *g*: *bhāgini*, *bahin* (for *bhāṇu*); *tadāga* (Pk. *talāo*) *talāo*.
 " *ch*: *sūchi*, *sūi*; *dwichatwāriṣat*, *beḥṣa*.
 " *j*: *rājakulāh* (Pk. *rāṇulo*) *rāwal*; *rājaputrāh* (Pk. *rāḍūto*) *rāwat*.
 " *r*: *rajani*, *rain*; *bija*, *bihan*, *rajendra*, *raind*.
 " *q* *pīrī*, *pu*; *māṭī*, *māi*, *mā*, *bhrāṭī*, *bhāi*, *bhāḍā*; *ghāta*, *ghāo*, *Sitā*, *Sia*.
 " *d* *hridayam*, *hijā*, *badaram*, *bafr*, *ber*, *kadaram* (Pk. *kaalam*), *keli*.
 " *p*. *adpakāra*, *enār*; *nāpita*, *nāi*, *dīpa*, *dīyā*, *pīṇsa*, *pūs*.
 " *v*: *virāha*, *biyāh*.
 " *y*:—*Ayodhyā*, *Awadh* (for *Acudh*), *Āyah*, *āu*.

The cerebrals are never elided; *p* and *ḍ* are most frequently vocalized; the semi-vowels (except *y* and *v*, previously hardened so as to approach *ṣ* and *ṣ*, and then treated as those letters are), nasals, sibilants, and *h* are also very stable; *r* has dropped out in *ke* (conjunctive participle) for *kari* (anciently *kari*), and *pai* for *pārī* (Sk. *uparī*). The changes of the aspirated letters of the five *vargas*, which it is difficult to separate into positional and organic, will be noticed further on.

Final consonants do not, properly speaking, exist in Hindi, except in loan words from Persian; in all others the last consonant is considered to have the inherent *a*, which in poetry is commonly pronounced, though in prose it is inaudible, that, however, it was recently heard also in prose appears probable from the protection of the consonant from further change, to which as a final it would according to the general Aryan sound-laws be exposed.

b. *Organic change.* This operates without regard to position, and occasionally affects initial consonants as well as others. The guttural lines display no tendency to organic change. There appears to be a tendency for the palatals to modulate into dentals and cerebrals, as *H. chōch* and *thōth* from Sk. *chanchu*; *chālis*, *iktālis*, *tektālis*, &c. Between the cerebrals and dentals there is much apparent confusion, and the passage of the latter into the former has been alleged to be the rule in Prākṛit, this, however, from considerations adduced by Mr Beames (*Comp. Gr.*, vol i, pp. 221-3), seems to be in most instances due to special causes (generally the neighbourhood of *r*). However this may be, when the Prākṛit has substituted the cerebral for the Sanskrit dental, the modern tongue generally follows it (as $\sqrt{\text{pat}}$, Pk. $\sqrt{\text{pad}}$, *H. par-nā*). But a large number of words exists in which Sanskrit has the dental and Hindi the cerebral, in which the change is not found in Prākṛit; while again a few cases of the reverse change occur both between Hindi and Sanskrit and within Hindi itself. The following are instances:—

Sanskrit dental = Hindi cerebral
 Sk. *dīdhikā*, *H. dīrāh*, *dīrhi*, Sk. $\sqrt{\text{dāpā}}$, *H. dānk*, *dāṇs* (Pk. *dāns* as in Sk.).
 Sk. *dara*, *H. dar*; Sk. *duk*, *H. dīg*; Sk. $\sqrt{\text{dab}}$, *H. dab* and *dāh* (Pk. *dah* and *dah*).
 ("Pk. *dhao*), Sk. $\sqrt{\text{dal}}$, *H. dāl* (Pk. *dāl*); Sk. *dhāka*, *H. dhā*
 ("Pk. *dhao*), Sk. $\sqrt{\text{dāl}}$, *H. dāl*, *dāl*, *dāl*, *dāl* (Pk. *dāl*), Sk. $\sqrt{\text{dāl}}$, *H. dāl*, *dāl*, *dāl* (Pk.

d (Sk. *ḍ*): Sk. *ḍaḍā*, H. *ḍāḍā*; Sk. *ḍaḍā*, H. *ḍaḍā*, *ḍaḍā*, *ḍiḍi* (P. also *ḍaḍā* and *ḍiḍi*); Sk. *ḍaḍā*, H. *ḍaḍā* (P. *ḍaḍā*); Sk. *ḍaḍā*, H. *ḍaḍā* (P. *ḍaḍā*).

ḍ (Sk. *ḍ*): Sk. *ḍaḍā*, H. *ḍaḍā*, *ḍiḍi*.

Within Hindi there is a very large number of derivatives from the Sk. *√athā* (also *athā*), in which the cerebral and dental appear to be indiscriminately used; e.g., with cerebral, *thām*, *thān*, *thāw*, *thar*, *thahar*, *thik*, &c.; with dental, *thān*, *thānā*, *thal*. From Sk. *√at* we have H. *tāt* and *tor*. In the sister languages of Hindi there are many more instances of this interchange, and in Sindhi there is a marked preference for the cerebral where Hindi and the other languages of the group preserve the dental.

D frequently passes into *ḍ*; e.g., Sk. *√kṛd*, H. *kṛd*, *keli*; Sk. *chota* (softened to *chola*), H. *chela*; Sk. *√pā*, Pk. *pā*, H. *pel*, *per*; Sk. *ṭaṭā*, H. *ṭāṭā*; Sk. *ṣhola*, H. *ṣhola*; in Sk. *√mā*, Pk. *mā*, H. *mā*, the *d* has first become *ḍ* through the influence of the *r* of *pi*. A further passage of *ḍ* into *d*, and thence from *d* into *r*, is manifest in the numerals—*ekādaśa*, *igārah*; *dvādaśa*, *lārah*; *trayodaśa*, *terah*.

P in Prākṛit frequently became *r* even when initial; but few instances, if any, of this change survive in modern Hindi. The archaic *vai*—Sk. *pai* is found in Chand (*Pravāṭa*, 19, Gori *vai*, "lord of the Ghoris"; *ḍḍ*, 25, Dakkhina *vai* *desa*, "country of the lord of the South"); but as this occurs only in compounds, it is not strictly an instance of initial *p*. *Vekh-nā*, from Sk. *√preksh*, is rather Panjābi than Hindi.

The aspirated letters of the gutturals and dentals, as well as *bh*, regularly when medial, and sometimes even when initial, pass into *h*, losing their characteristic. The following are examples:—

dh: Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*.

gh: Sk. *ghaḥ*, H. *ghāḥ*; Sk. *ghaḥ*, H. *ghāḥ*; Sk. *ghaḥ*, H. *ghāḥ*; Sk. *ghaḥ*, H. *ghāḥ*; Sk. *ghaḥ*, H. *ghāḥ*.

dh: Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*.

dh: Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*.

dh: Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*; Sk. *dhakha*, H. *dhāḥ*.

This change takes place most frequently with *dh* and *bh*; with *kh*, *gh*, and *th* instances of retention are more common; it is rare at the beginning of a word, such instances occurring only with *bh* (as in *bhū*, *bhāṇā*, and *bhūṇā* above cited) and perhaps with *dh* (Sk. *dherah* = Nepālī *heru*; Sk. *dhārakah* = Hindi *hārā*; but these strictly speaking occur only in compounds). *Th* in some words where it is a secondary development is perhaps represented by initial *h*; as *ho* in Brāj (= High Hindi *thā*), for *thau* (from *sthitha*): *hāṇ* (in mere *hāṇ*, *uske hāṇ*) from *sthāne*.

No instances of change in *chh* or *jh* have been found. *Th* often passes into its media *dh*, as *pīṭha*, *pīḍhā*, *√path*, *parh* (and in secondary formations like *kushīṭha*, *kutīṭho*, [*kūṭh*] *koṭh*, as will

throughout, when combined with other numerals, hattar (ik-hattar, ba-hattar, &c.) ; daśan similarly throughout its compounds changes its *s* to *h*, as in Prākṛit (igārah, bārah, terah, chaudāh, &c.). This tendency is somewhat sparingly exhibited in Hindī ; it is strongest in the western dialects bordering in Panjābī, in which language it is the rule. There are, however, several inflexional and conjugational forms common to all dialects of Hindī (especially in the oblique cases of nouns in -ā, in the substantive verb, and in the archaic future) which are most probably to be explained by this change, which has already set in in Prākṛit. Two other changes, of limited application, must also be noticed. The first is of the sibilants into the palatals, as Sk. shash, H. chha ; Sk. shashtha, H. chhatthā ; Sk. shatāṅka, H. chhatāṅk ; Sk. śāvaka, H. chhok-rā. In all these instances the modern dialects follow the lead of Prākṛit ; one prominent instance of the change in the latter language, that of √sthā into √chitth, has, however, no representative in Hindī. In Mārwarī and the Himālayan dialects, on the other hand, *ch* and *chh* frequently become *s*. The second is of *ṣ* into *kh*, which is the power generally given to this letter in late tadbhavas and tatsamas ; thus Sk. bhāshā is pronounced bhākhā, Bhīshma, Bhīkham, visha, bikh, mesha, mekh, harsha, harakh, and from varsha we have both barakhnā and barasnā. Of this change Prākṛit examples are wanting.

H is a stable letter in the modern tongue, and suffers no organic change.

II. *Changes of Conjunct Consonants*.—Prākṛit, as a rule, suffered no dissimilar conjuncts, and in all early tadbhavas the modern languages follow its lead, though in late tadbhavas stronger principles of articulation are found. The changes which take place depend on the relative strength of the letters making up the nexus, which may with reference thereto be classified into *strong* and *weak*. The strong letters are the first four of each of the five organs, viz., क, ख, ग, घ : च, छ, ज, झ : ट, ठ, ड, ढ : त, थ, द, ध : प, फ, ब, भ. The weak letters are the nasals, semi-vowels, sibilants, and *h*, which exhibit relatively one to another different degrees of strength, but are all inferior to the strong letters. These letters may combine in the following ways :—

1. The strong nexus, formed of strong letters only ;
2. The mixed nexus, formed of strong and weak letters ;
3. The weak nexus, formed of weak letters only.

The immense majority of conjuncts in Saṁskṛit are of two consonants only ; groups of three or even of four consonants occur, but rarely, and chiefly in compound or derivative words (e.g. tatsthiāne, matsya, Lakshmana) ; these, which almost always include a weak letter or letters, present no striking peculiarities. The weakest letter falls out, and the resulting stronger letters combine as in a conjunct of two elements. It will suffice, therefore, to confine our attention here to conjuncts consisting of two dissimilar consonants only.

letter, it is changed to anuswāra in Prākṛit, without, and to anu-
nāsika in the modern language, generally with, compensatory length-
ening of the vowel.¹

(3) In the weak nexus three processes take place —

(a) When the two letters are of unequal strength, the weaker is
assimilated, as in the mixed nexus ;

(β) When they are of equal or nearly equal strength, they are
divided one from the other by the insertion of a vowel ; or

(γ) They are combined into a third and different consonant.

1. The following are examples of the *strong nexus* :—

Sanskrit	Prākṛit	Hindī
khadgah	khaggo	{khāg, Old H. khagga (also a late tadbhava, kharag)
mudgah	muggo	mūṅg
dag dāh	dudḍho	dūḍh
mudgarah	muggaro	mogrā and mūgrā
Kanyakubja	Kanaujja	Kanauj, Old H. Kanavajja
saddah	saddo	sād (Old H.), sadda (Chand)
bhaktam	bhattam	bhāt
raktah	ratto	rattā (Old H.), rātā
✓udgār	✓ugrāl	ugāl nā
✓odgam	✓uggav	ug nā
✓ujjwal	✓ubbal	ubāl-nā
✓udbhār	✓ubbhār	ubhār-nā

The last four words supply examples of the sub-rule (β) ; a large
number of such instances are to be found in the numerals among
the derivatives of sapta, "seven."

The same —

krit are far more frequent; and in Panjābī and Sindhī the lengthened vowel is still of rare occurrence, the Prākṛit form being retained. It is to be observed that the augmented vowel, being in compensation for the loss of one of two similar consonants, occurs equally in cases where the doubled consonant is original in Sanskrit, and is not the result of assimilation in Prākṛit. Thus pippala is in the modern language pīpal, bhalluka bhālū, lattā lāt, lajjā lāj, &c.

2. The *mixed nexus* is more complicated in its phenomena:—*a*, nasals in a mixed nexus; *b*, sibilants in a mixed nexus; and *c*, semi-vowels in a mixed nexus.

a. Nasals in a Mixed Nexus.—The nasal may either precede or follow. In the first case it drops out, *anunāsika* is inserted, and the vowel generally lengthened in compensation for the lost consonant. Examples:—

Sk. janghā, Pk. id., H. jāṅgh; Sk. chanchu, H. choñch; Sk. kaṇṭakah, Pk. kaṇṭao, H. kāṇṭā; Sk. sunṭhi, H. soñth; Sk. raṇḍā, H. rāṇḍ, rāṇr; Sk. shaṇḍah, H. sāṇḍ, sāṇr; Sk. chandrah, Pk. chando, H. chāṇḍ; Sk. √kāmp, Pk. kamp, H. kāṇp-nā. The lengthening of the vowel shews that the original nasal has been lost and compensation is necessary; and the *anunāsika* which marks its place is a totally different sound from the nasals of full contact for which it is substituted. Apparent exceptions are—Sk. jambu, H. jāṃbū; Sk. nimbā, H. nīm; Sk. śimbā, H. sem, where the *m* would seem to have prevailed over the stronger *b*. But it seems probable that in reality the strong letter has first absorbed the nasal (as shewn by the Gujarātī jāmbu, Marāṭhī jāmb), and has then been softened by the influence of the lost *anunāsika* into *m*.

When the nasal follows, it is assimilated to the stronger letter in Prākṛit, and one of the pair is elided in Hindī, generally with compensatory lengthening of the vowel: *e.g.*, Sk. agni, Pk. aggi, H. āg; Sk. lagnah, Pk. laggo, H. lagā, lāgā; Sk. nagnah, Pk. naggo, Old H. (Chand) naggā, Mod. H. with inorganic *anunāsika* naṅgā. There is one combination with a following nasal which is treated in a peculiar manner: this is *jñ* ज्ञ. This conjunct, when it occurs in tatsamas and late tadbhavas, is pronounced, and sometimes written, *gy*. Thus आज्ञा is āgyā, ज्ञान, gyān; राज्ञी in Old Hindī is रागिनी rāgini, and by an analogous process यज्ञ is जाग. On the other hand, the root *jñān* in other derivatives becomes *yān*, as siyānā, ayān. In the modern language *jñ* is in two words represented by *n*, viz., rānī for rājñī, and janco for yajñopavīta (through Pk. jannoaiō, jāṇnoio). Lastly, in yajña and its compounds the general rule is sometimes followed, and *j* alone survives; as in Old Hindī jaj, and the common word jajmān (yajñamāna).

b. Sibilants in a Mixed Nexus.—When the sibilant precedes the

jibbhū for jībhū; isaro as well as isaro for īwarah; rāṇ, rāṇī, and rāṇ as well as rāṇī for rāṇī. The first of these is important as supplying a means of explaining the oblique bases of Hindī nouns in -ā, and of several pronouns.

kaṣṭhā (but more commonly kaṣṭhā), Sk. puṣhkaram, Pk. pōkkharam, H. pokhar, Sk. sushkah, Pk. sokkho, sukkho, H. sūkhā.

With Dalatāl. Sk. vāśkārā, Pk. vāśkāra, H. vāśkāra.

With Lalāl. Sk. √spars, Pk. phars, H. phāṁs-na; Sk. puṣh-pam, Pk. puppham, H. puhup, phup (for puph); Sk. vāśkārā, Pk. vāśkāra, H. vāśkāra.

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asthi, Pk. atthi, has, by the throwing back of the aspirate and the softening of t into d, become haddi; and the secondary result in the last instance, be Sk. kushtha, H. kor.

With Dalatāl. Sk. vāśkārā, Pk. vāśkāra, H. vāśkāra.

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Dental with Sibilant: Sk. vatsah, Ph. vachchho, H. bachchhā, bachhrū; Sk. matsyah, Pk. machchho, H. machh, machchhī.

But although the result above shown from *k + sh* is common and regular, it is not the most usual transformation. This combination is more often changed into *kkh* and *kh*, and this in words where in Prākṛit the other change (into *chchh*) had occurred. Thus:—

Sk. akshi, Pk. achchhī, is H. āñkh; Sk. kshīram, Pk. chhīram, H. khīr; Sk. ikshu, Pk. uchchhū, H. ikh, ūkh; Sk. kshāram, Pk. chhāram, H. khār; Sk. makshikā, Pk. machchhiā, H. makhkhī, mākhī (but also a diminutive, machchhar); Sk. kshetram, Pk. chhettam, H. khet, kherā; Sk. dakshinā, Pk. dakkhiṇo. II. dakkhin (also dahinā); Sk. pakshah, Pk. pakkho, H. pakh; Sk. drākshā, Pk. dakkhā, H. dākh.

This development is interesting, as showing that the modern languages do not invariably follow the lead of literary Prākṛit, though they use Prākṛit processes. It would seem that of the two results the one less used in Hindī (*ksh = chchh*) is the older, as exhibited in Prākṛit and in several archaic dialects of Hindī where we now have *kkh*, and as more agreeable to analogy; while the change into *kh* grew out of an inversion of which we have traces in Māgadhi Prākṛit, whereby the sibilant was placed before instead of after the *k*; the combination *sk* would, as already shown, migrate into *kh*. It is also probable that the pronunciation of *kh* given to क्, which was in common use at the time when the late tadbhavas (to which class many of the words having *ksh = kkh* belong) were being formed, contributed to the greater prevalence in Hindī of the equivalent less used in Prākṛit.

c. *The Semi-vowels in a Mixed Nexus*.—The phenomena in this combination are also of a somewhat complicated order, and it will be convenient to take first the cases in which the general rule is followed, and afterwards the apparent exceptions. Of the semi-vowels only *r* and *l* can precede a strong letter; and when that letter is a guttural, palatal, or labial, the general rule is followed with *r*, and in all cases with *l*. Examples:—

Of r preceding: Sk. karkatah, Pk. kakkado, H. keñkrā; Sk. karkatikā, Pk. kakkadiā, H. kakṛi; Sk. mārgah, Pk. maggo, H. māñg (Old H. magga); Sk. archi, H. āñch; Sk. kharjūram, Pk. khajjūram, H. khajūr; Sk. mahārgah, Pk. mahaggo, H. mahañgā; Sk. karpatah, Pk. kappado, H. kaprā; Sk. karpāsam, Pk. kappāsam, H. kapās; Sk. sarpah, Pk. sappo, H. sāñp; Sk. samarpanam, Pk. samappanam, H. samappa-nañ, soñp-nā; Sk. garbham, Pk. gabblham, H. gābh; Sk. garbhini, Pk. gabblini, H. gābhini; Sk. durbalah, Pk. dubbalo, H. dublā.

Of l preceding: Sk. valgā, Pk. vaggā, H. bāg; Sk. phālgunam, Pk. phaggunam, H. phāgun; Sk. phālgū, Pk. phaggū, H. phāg; Sk. √jalp, Pk. japp, H. jap-nā.

When the succeeding letter is a dental, the process above indicated takes place with *r* in a large number of instances:—

Sk. varttikā, Pk. battiā, H. batti; Sk. vārttā, Pk. vattā, Old H.

batta, Mod. II. bāt; Sk. varttari, Pk. kattari, H. vatar-ni; Sk. kättikam, Pk. kattikam, H. kätik; Sk. $\sqrt{k\ddot{u}rd}$, Pk. \sqrt{kudl} , H. kūd-nā; Sk. caturdaśa, Pk. cārudāśa, H. cāudāśa.

But in the majority of cases in Prakṛit a preceding *r* with a dental translates the latter into a cerebral, and this change is also

JOYNTS ON THE GROUND

$r+14$: Sk. *chaturthah*, Pk. *chaturtho*, H. *chaturthā* (in the d) also usually *chaturthī*).

r+d: Sk. kapardīśa, Pk. kavapīśa, H. kaurīś; rē, √100, Pk. tadī, H. tār.

†+dk: Sk. varḍhaki, Pk. varḍhaci, H. barḍhi; Sk. vṛddhiś (thrown forward), Pk. vṛddhi, H. barḍhi, bṛḍhi, Sk. vṛddham, Pk. vṛddhi, H. barḍhe.

To this list must be added instances in which the *r* of *prati* has been turned forward to the *l*, making *prati*, which is equally common in Prakrit as *prati*; in Hindi the *pr* is *pr* thus retained as written into *r*, e.g.—

Sk. protivášt, Pk. protiášt, H. prout, Sz. protivostášt, Pk. protištášt, H. proutštášt

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With dentals *r* as a last member like *are* falls out, and frequently without effect on the organ of its companion. -

Fk. kshetrano, H. khet; Sk. gottam, Pk. gottam, H. pot, Pl. mitrab, Pk. mitto, H. sut, Sk. piddhah, Pk. piddho, H. piddh, gdh; Sk. rati, Pk. ratti, H. rat, Sk. putrah, Pk. putto, H. put put; Sk. sutram, Pk. suttam, H. sut, Sk. dahan, Pk. daddo, H. ddi; Sk. chandrah, Pk. chando, H. chhad, Pl. dhda, Pk. dhda, H. dhda.

The change of the dental to a central in such cases is not surprising.

Dental with Sibilant : Sk. vatsah, Ph. vachchho, H. bachchhā, bachhrū; Sk. matsyah, Pk. machchho, H. machh, machchhī.

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Of l preceding : Sk. valgā, Pk. vaggā, H. bāg; Sk. phālgunam, Pk. phaggunam, H. phāgun; Sk. phālgu, Pk. phaggū, H. phūg; Sk. √jalp, Pk. japp, H. jap-nā.

When the succeeding letter is a dental, the process above indicated takes place with *r* in a large number of instances:—

Sk. varttikā, Pk. battiā, H. battī; Sk. vārttā, Pk. vattā, Old H.

batta, Mod. H. bāt, Sk. karttari, Pk. kattari, H. katar-ni; Sk. kirtukam, Pk. kattukam, H. kūtuk; Sk. √kūrd, Pk. √kudd, H. kūd-nā, Sk. caturdaśam, Pk. chauddaha, H. chaudāh.

But in the majority of cases in Prakrit a preceding *r* with a

अङ्ग, ११. लङ्.

r+*dh*, Sk. varibhakti, Pk. vaddhai, H. barhai, Sk. vuddhah (*r* thrown forward), Pk. vuddho, H. buddhā, bārā, Sk. sindham, Pk. sabbhe, H. sārhe.

To this list must be added instances in which the *r* of *prati* has been thrown forward to the *t*, making *part*, which regularly appears in Prakrit as *paṭi*; in Hindi the *ḍ*(*r*) is either retained or softened into *r*, e.g.—

Sk. pratirāsi, Pk. paṭirāsi, H. paṛosi; Sk. pratichhīyā, Pk. paṭichhīlā, H. paṛchhīlā.

प्रतिपक्षे चोक्तं नृपतये ।

ध्रामाराम, Pk. dhāmaram, H. bhāwar

In later tadbhavas the *r* is frequently separated from its companion and thrown forward on the next consonant; thus Sk. praśāda, pratāpa, prakāśa, pragāsa, pranāli become H. paśād, paṭāb, paṛgāś, paṛganā, paṛnālā.

With dentals *r* as a last member likewise falls out, and frequently without effect on the organ of its companion.—

Sk. kshetrari H. kṣētrī

mitrah, Pk.

gubh, Sk. rā

put; Sk. sūt

dād; Sk. ch

H. nāḍ.

The change of the dental to a cerebral in such cases is not uncommon.—

Sk. chitrāh, Pk. chitto, H. chīlāt (but chitrakāh, chittāh, chīlā); Sk. patram, Pk. pattam, H. pāt; Sk. gātrī, H. gubli, giri; Sk. √trut, H. tūt; Sk. kshetrāh, Pk. chhūlāh, H. chhōlā.

L following is sometimes elided, as in Sk. ſukla, H. suk; but more often, both in Prakrit and Hindi, it is separated from its con-

junct by an interposed vowel ; *c.g.*, Sk. plihā, H. pilhā ; Sk. kleśah, Pk. kilesa, H. kales ; Sk. śukla, H. sukul.

Y and *v* only occur as following members, and in the immense majority of instances in combination with a dental. With letters of other organs they commonly fall out, according to rule, as : Sk. yogyah, Pk. jōggo, H. jog ; Sk. √chyū, Pk. chū, H. chū ; Sk. jyoti, H. jot ; Sk. pakwah, Pk. pikko, H. pakkā. In a few instances even with dentals they fall out or are vocalized, as Sk. tyāga, H. tiāg ; Sk. twaritam, H. turañt, turt ; Sk. Prithwirāja, H. Pithorā ; Sk. dwīpa, H. dip ; Sk. dwi, Pk. due, do, H. do. But with dentals generally they are raised to their higher forms of palatal and labial, and as such form a strong nexus with their companion, by which, however, they are so affected that they pass into its grade. Examples :—

T+y = ch : Sk. satyah, Pk. sacheho, H. sach, sāñch ; Sk. nrityati, Pk. nachchāi, H. nāche ; Sk. mrityu, Pk. michcha, H. mīch.

Th+y = chh : Sk. mithyā, Pk. miehchhā, H. miehā.

D+y = j : Sk. adya, Pk. ajja, H. āj ; Sk. vidyut, Pk. vijjuli, H. bijli ; Sk. dyūtam, Pk. jūdam, jūam, H. jūā.

Dh+y = jh : Sk. madhye, Pk. majjhe, H. majhi, māñjh ; Sk. bandhyā, Pk. banjjhā, H. bāñjh ; Sk. upādhyāyah, Pk. uajjhāo, H. ojhā ; Sk. sandhyā, Pk. sanjhā, H. sāñjh.

Of *v* changed to *b* the most numerous set of instances occurs in the numerals, where *dw* regularly becomes *b*, *c.g.*, dwādaśan, būrah ; dwāviṃśati, būis ; dwitīya, biyā (in Chand ; more commonly dūij, dūj) ; so also Sk. dwārah, H. bār. In combination with *t* the process has, in analogy with the changes of *y* with tenues, resulted in raising the grade of the *b* to *p* ; the most common examples of this change are the reflexive pronoun āp (anciently āpu, appu) and the suffixes pan, pā, panā. The first is from Sk. ātman, Pk. appā, where the *m* has first changed into *v*, making ātvā ; the second is most probably from the Sk. termination twam, twan ; thus vṛid-dhatwan = būrhāpā, through buddhappam. Sk. tattwa, however, appears in Old Hindi as tata, tatta. In one combination with *j*, the root √jwal, both the regular process and that usual with *d* are in force, the root becoming in Hindi both jal and bal.

3. *The Weak Nexus*.—The phenomena of this form of conjunct are complicated by the fact that among the weak letters some are stronger than others ; the general rule is that the weaker yields to the stronger, as in the mixed nexus.

Nasal with Nasal.—The only forms of this in Sk. are *mu* and *am* ; the first yields no instances in Hindi ; of the second Sk. janma, samukham, are examples, becoming in Pk. jammo, samukham ; the first word is in Hindi always a late tadbhava, janam ; the second yields sāmhi-nā, sūñhi-ñ.

Nasal with Semi-vowel.—In this combination the nasal generally prevails. Examples of a preceding nasal are : Sk. aranyam, Pk. ranam, H. ran ; Sk. āraṇyakah, Pk. āraṇao, H. arāñā ; Sk. auyā, H. āñ, Old H. anī ; Sk. āṇyah, Pk. suñño, H. sūñ, sūñā ; Sk.

dhānyam, H dhān; Sk. agamayah, Pk. agammo, H. agam (Old H. agammu); Sk. tanwinī, H tannini (in Chand) Combinations with *i* are rare, in Sk. amlikā, H mli, both members survive.
Example of y becoming i as some vowel in H. Sk. agamayah, Pk. agammo, H. agam

in chanchu=choñch; Sk. śmaśānam, Pk. masānam, H masān; Sk. snushā, H. nūh; (3) splitting of the nexus occurs—Sk. snehah, H. sañeh; Sk. smaranam, H. sumiran, samaran, and (4) in the following words the sibilant survives and the nasal is lost—Sk. surat, H. surat (where the *u* is due to the lost nasal); Sk. rāmi, H. rami.

the *y* prevailing only where it passes into *j*—Sk. chauryam, Pk. choriam, H. chori; Sk. sūryyah, Pk. sūro and suyo, H. sūr and (late tadbb.), sūraj; Sk. tūryyam, Pk. tūram, H. turī; Sk. kāryyam, Pk. kajjam, H. kāj; Sk. pūryate, Pk. puṛai, H. pū-e; Sk. āścharyyam, Pk. achchheram H. āchijja

a singu-
palāṅg;
e v gene-

any becomes *o*, and as a strong letter assimilates the *r*:—Sk. sarvāh, Pk. sabbo, H. sab; Sk. pūrvah, Pk. pubbl. Old H. pubba; Sk. apūrvah Pk. apūrvah Old H. apūrvah. Sk. √chary, Pk. chabb, is always treated by *k* pabbo), pūrab In the lam, H. kāl, kal, kāl, māulyam, Pk. mōllam,

as also the *l* is the stronger; perhaps the only example is Sk. vilvā, Pk. villā, H. bel In *vy* the *v* becomes *o*, and the *y* is absorbed, or remains only as a vowel; Sk. √vyang, H. bāchh-nā; Sk. vyāghrah, H. bāgh, Sk. vyatita, H. bit-na, Sk. vyangah H. beṅg (-baṅg) *Fr* is treated as *br*, and the *r* is absorbed, or else the nexus is split; *r* in this nexus is usually vocalized in Sk., so that most examples are of *vri*—Sk. vrikah, H. bik, Sk. vrid-dhah, H. budhā; Sk. vrinda, H. bindā; Sk. vrischikah, H. bich-chū; Sk. vrata, H. larat; Sk. vrāta, H. barāt; Sk. vraya, H.

baraj, birj (the last three words are late tadbhavas); Sk. vrikshah, by a curious change, becomes Pk. rukkho, H. rūkh.

Semi-vowel with Sibilant.—The only semi-vowel which is found preceding a sibilant is *r* in the combinations *rsh* and *rs*. In these (1) the sibilant absorbs the semi-vowel; or (2) the nexus is split; or (3) a third dissimilar consonant results. Of the first process the following are examples: Sk. śirshah, Pk. sisso, H. sīs; Sk. pārśwe, H. pās; Sk. √sparś, Pk. phans, H. phas-nā, phaṣnā; Sk. √nishkarsh (krish), H. nikāsnā. Of the second: Sk. varshah, Pk. bariso, H. barasnā, barsāt; Sk. sarshapam, H. sarasoṇ. Of the third: Sk. √karsh (krish), Pk. kaddh, H. kārhnā; Sk. √nish-karsh, Pālī nikkaddh, Pk. nikkāl, H. nikāl.

The sibilant may be followed by all the semi-vowels, and in all cases proves the stronger. A following *y* is absorbed in—Sk. śyāmah, H. sām, shām; Sk. śyāmalah, H. sāṇwlā; Sk. śyālah, H. sālā; Sk. avaśyāyam, H. os; Sk. pushyam, H. pūs; Sk. kansyah, H. kāṇsā. A following *r* is absorbed—Sk. śrī, H. sī; Sk. śrāvānam, H. sāwan; Sk. śrinoti, Pk. sunāi, H. sun-e; Sk. āsru, Pk. ānsū, H. āṇsū; Sk. śwaśru, Pk. sassū, H. sās. Late tadbhavas, however, split the nexus—Sk. śrī, H. sirī; Sk. āsrayam, H. āsarā; Sk. miśrah, H. misar; Sk. śrāvakah, H. sarāogi. A following *l* is rare; in Sk. slāghā, H. sarāh, the nexus is split. A following *v* disappears—Sk. śwaśurah, H. sasur; Sk. śwaśru, H. sās; Sk. īśwarah, Pk. issaro, H. isar; Sk. swāmī, H. sāiṇ; Sk. swaka, H. sagā: in Sk. √swap, Pālī sup, Pk. suv, H. so, and Sk. swarga, H. surag, the vowel following the *s* is due to elided *v*.

H in Sk. sometimes precedes the nasals *n* and *m*. In these cases Prākṛit transposes the two, and the modern languages follow its lead—Sk. chihnah, Pk. chinho, chindho, H. chihh, chihhā; Sk. brāhmaṇah, Pk. bamhaṇo, H. bāṇhan; Sk. Brahma, H. bamh, bambh, and bam.¹ Combinations of *h* with other letters are rare in old tadbhava words; it is found with following *r* under the form *ri* in *hṛidaya* and its derivatives, which in Hindī appear either as *hiyā*, *hiya*, &c., with loss of *r*, or as *rid*, *ridā*, with loss of *h*. Followed by *y* and *v*, those semi-vowels are strengthened to *j* and *v*, which *h* then aspirates. Cases of the nexus *hy* do not perhaps occur in Hindī;² but in the cognate Panjābī we have—Sk. guhyah, Pk. gujjho, Panj. gujjhā; Sk. vāhyakah, Pk. vajjhao, Panj. bājh, bājhoṇ. Instances of *hv* are—Sk. jihvā, Pk. jibbhā, jihā, H. jibh; Sk. vihvalah, Pk. vebbhaho, H. bihbāl (late tadbh.).

5. *Grammar.*—In the following paragraphs we propose, in illustration of the historic development of Hindustani out of its predecessors, to examine in the first place the inflexion of the noun (including the adjective, and inci-

¹ Used as an exclamation in praise of Mahādeva, who is thereby identified with Brahma. See Kabīr in Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, p. 684.

² It is probably in this combination that we must seek the origin of the pronominal forms, *mujh*, *tujh*, from genitives which would originally be *musya*, *tusya*, and then *muhya*, *tuhya*.

in *-ah* (whether of Aryan or Semitic origin) become masculine in Hindustani, on the analogy of the masculine termination *-ā*; on the other hand, nouns (generally Arabic) in *-at* are with one or two exceptions all feminine, probably on the analogy of the Aryan feminines in *-ati*, modern *-at*. Nouns of which the gender is not determined by termination seem to be classed according to analogy of idea with vernacular nouns.

The distinction between early tadbhava nouns on the one hand and late tadbhavas and tatsamas on the other is maintained in Hindustani in respect of form; the one class agrees with Prākṛit, the other with Sanskrit. This distinction is important in reference to declension; for, as will hereafter be seen, it is only in the first class that we now find traces of the original synthetic inflexion system; the latter class, assuming in Hindī generally the form which they bear in the Sanskrit nominative (with the loss of visarga, anuswāra, and final short vowels, if any), are unchanged in the singular throughout the cases.

Modern nouns, whether old or late tadbhavas, end either in a consonant or a long vowel; no genuine tadbhava is found in Hindī in the present day with a short vowel ending, words so terminated being all tatsamas or late importations from Sanskrit. But the consonantal ending does not exhibit the form in which the first class originally came into Hindī; in poetry the inherent *-a*, no longer heard in prose, is still pronounced, so that all modern consonantally ending nouns appear in the former as terminating in short *-a*. This short *-a* is the remnant, in the case of most masculines representing original Prākṛit masculines, of an older *-u*; in that of masculines representing Prākṛit neuters, of an older *-am* (with anuswāra); in that of feminines, of an older *-i*, *-u*, or an original Prākṛit *-ā*. The neuter gender had almost disappeared from Hindī at the date of our earliest extant specimens, and thus we find original neuters in *-am* having the old masculine termination *-u*, either by transfer from proper masculines, or produced by solution of the anuswāra into a labial vowel and anunāsika. These terminations are the result of the application to the Prākṛit endings of the law, universal as between that language and Old Hindī, that a long final vowel in Prākṛit is shortened in the latter speech. There is no such thing as a consonantally ending noun in Prākṛit; even those bases which in Sanskrit ended in consonants (as *-at*, *it*, &c.) assume in Prākṛit a vowel (as *anto*, *itā*), or drop the consonant so as to lay bare the preceding vowel; and all final vowels in Prākṛit are in the nominative case of nouns long. These long vowels were shortened in Old Hindī to their inherent or related simple vowels; and in the modern tongue the short vowel is dropped, its place being taken in poetry, and at an immediate stage in prose, by short *a*, which thus does duty for all the original short vowels. Thus the Old Hindī *-u*, later *-a*, and present consonantal ending of masculines, represents an original Prākṛit *-o* or *-am*; Old Hindī *-i*, present consonantal ending of feminines, represents an original Prākṛit *-i*; Old Hindī *-u*, present consonantal ending of feminines, represents an original Prākṛit *ā*;

Old Hindi -a, present consonantal ending of feminines, represents an original Prākṛit -ā.

The old tadbhavas which terminate in a vowel (necessarily long in present Hindi, since short final vowels have ceased to be

-ukā, fem. -ukā, neut. -ukam; in u-stems, masc. -ukā, fem. -ukā, neut. -ukam. In Prākṛit these terminations yield respectively -ao, -id, -am, -io, -id, -iam; and -uo, -ud, -uam. According to the

Sansk	Sansk	Prāk	Old Hindi	Mod Hindi
-akṣ (masc)	{ kantakṣ ghṛtakṣ chitrakṣ matakṣ }	kantao ghṛtao chitao matthao	kāṭan ghṛan chitan māṭhan	kāṭā ghṛā chī ā māṭhā
-akam (neut.)	{ anvarpakam }	anvanam	anvan	anā
-akā (masc.)	vṛścikā	vichechao	bichechhi	bichechhi ¹
	{ makṣhikā }	{ makkhīl machechhi }	{ makkhi makkhi }	makkhi
-akā (fem)	{ mṛttikā karkṣikā kunchikā }	mṛttā karkṣā kunchā	mṛtti karkṣi kuchī	mṛtti karkṣi, karkṣi kuchī
-ikam (neut.)	mauktikam	mottiam	motiā	moti
-akā (masc.)	bhāṅgikā	bhāṅgo	bī āṅ	bhāṅ
-akā (fem.)	bāṅkī	bāṅ	bāṅ	bāṅ
-akam (neut.)	{ ādrakam }	{ ānṛam ānṛam }	ānṛā	ānṛā

¹ Nepāl form, in High H it is bichechā from a by-form in Sk. vṛścikakā.

The above, except *suvarṇakam* and *aśrukam*, are all cases in which the *k*-augment is represented in Sanskrit ; but, as already stated, its use in Prākṛit was by no means confined to words in which it existed in Sanskrit : it was added, it would seem indifferently, to all nouns, substantive and adjective ; and, reasoning from the forms taken in Hindī by Prākṛit nouns in which it was certainly used, as proved by the (as yet far from thoroughly explored) extant specimens of Prākṛit literature, we are justified in assuming that there existed a Prākṛit original having this augment wherever we find Hindī nouns having those forms. Moreover, in Old Hindī, and even in a few words in the modern language, relics have survived of the process whereby *ikā* became *ī*, *ukā*, *ū*, &c. Thus we have feminines in *-iyā*, that termination being as a rule attributed to masculines (e.g., *būrhiyā*, *kuttiyā*, *guriyā*, *ḍibiyā*, *chiriyā*) ; this seems to result from arrest of the development at the Prākṛit stage, when *-ikā* had become *-iā*. So we have also, from a presumable *ukāh*, *bhadrū* (*bhaṭukah*), *machhuā*, *pahruā*, side by side with forms in *-ū* only ; these are probably similar arrested developments. In poetry, more especially in the older specimens, any noun ending in *ī* or *ū* may assume the forms *-iya* and *-uwa* when the metre requires it, which are exactly the intermediate forms between the Sanskrit *ikā*, *ukā* and the modern *ī*, *ū*, which analogy leads us to expect.

The foregoing rules will be found to account for all *tadbhava* nouns, substantive and adjective, in Hindī ; that is, all such nouns of which there are representatives in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. In the class of *deśaja* words there are similar developments ; such words are few in number, and their terminations have been determined upon the analogy of the much more numerous class which have come through Prākṛit. With *deśaja* words, however, must be classed nouns formed by means of a great variety of terminations in Hindī representing various modifications and extensions of the root-idea ; as diminutives, abstract nouns, nouns of agency, and the like. It is not necessary to suppose, although the roots of such derivative words may occur in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, that their modern forms came into Hindī through these languages ; it is sufficient that a system of formation and inflexion was once established in the case of true *tadbhavas* ; having been established, it naturally extended itself by analogy to all other words, whether these were part of the original old stock or later developments.

Late *tadbhava* and *tatsama* nouns, which have been taken over direct from the Sanskrit without passing through Prākṛit, do not exhibit these peculiarities. They are formed by the simple process of adopting the Sanskrit nominative case, rejecting only *anuswāra*, *visarga*, and a short final *a*. Thus the Sanskrit stems *ichchhā*, *agni*, *dhātu*, *dātri*, *mātri*, *sarit*, *dhanwat*, *rājan*, *nāman*, *mahiman*, *tejaswin*, *manas*, *chakshus* appear in Hindī as *ichchhā*, *agni*, *dhātu*, *dātā*, *mātā*, *sarit*, *dhanwān*, *rājā*, *nām*, *mahimā*, *tejaswī*, *man*, *chakshu*. The only exception are bases in *-wat*, which in Hindī frequently substitute for that termination *-vant*, instead of *-vān*, as *pāpwant*, *balwant* ; this is due to the influence of Prākṛit, where

the nom. sing. of such bases ends in *ranto*, Old H. *rantu*, later *vanta*, *vant*.

The declension of nouns is effected in Hindi by means of what are called post-positions, thus —

		<i>Singular.</i>			
	Masc. consonantal stem.	Masc. stem in -ā.	Fem. consonantal stem.	Fem. stem in ī.	
Nom.	bāgh	ghorā	bāi	betī	
Accus.	{bāgh	ghorā	bāi	betī	
	{bāgh-ko	ghore-ko	bāi ko	beti-ko	
Dat.	bāgh ko	ghore-ko	bāi ko	b. ti ko	
Abl.	bāgh-se	ghore-se	bāi-se	beti se	
Loc.	bāgh-meñ	ghore-meñ	bāi-meñ	beti-meñ	
Agent	bāgh-ne	ghore-ne	bāi-ne	beti ne	
Gen.	bāgh-kā	ghore-kā	bāi-kā	beti kā	
Voc.	bāgh	ghore	bāi	beti	
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	bāgh	ghore	bāien	betiyāñ	
Accus.	{bāgh	ghore	bāien	betiyāñ	
	{bāghon-ko	ghoron-ko	bāion-ko	betiyon-ko	
Dat.	bāghon ko	ghoron ko	bāion-ko	betiyon-ko	
Abl.	bāghon-se	ghoron-se	bāion-se	betiyon-se	
Loc.	bāghon-meñ	ghoron-meñ	bāion-meñ	betiyon-meñ	
Agent	bāghon ne	ghoron ne	bāion-ne	betiyon ne	
Gen.	bāghon-kā	ghoron-kā	bāion-kā	betiyon kā	
Voc.	bāgho	ghoro	bāio	betiyo	

It will be seen that in the singular one class of nouns only, the masculine in -ā, has a special form before the case-affixes, the other classes remaining unchanged; while in the plural three of the four, the masculine in -ā, the consonantally ending feminine, and the feminine in ī take a general form for the nominative and all the

other cases, post-positions are very sparingly used. The noun appears in a crude form, generally without any termination indi-

cative of case or number; and the sense of a passage can be discovered only from the order of the words, and often very imperfectly even from that. Sometimes, however, the noun is inflected in the singular, and more often in the plural, by the addition of certain element, which are not the post-positions; *aha* and *ahi* are those added to the singular and nominative plural, and *ani*, *ana*, *ni*, *añ* those added to the plural. These endings seemed to be used indifferently with all the oblique cases of the singular except the vocative, and *ana*, *ani*, *añ* appeared also in the plural nominative.

In the *Ādi Granth*, our second great authority for Old Hindi, we find that masculines ending in *-u* in the nominative singular end in *-o* in the oblique singular and nominative plural (as is still the case in Sindhi); masculines in *-i* end in *-ai* in the oblique sing. and nom. plural; and both classes of nouns end in *-āñ* in the plural oblique. In the language of Kabir and that of the *Rāmāyaṇ* of Tulsī Dās, the same terminations as these in use in Chand are found, *-ahi*, *hi*, *aha* for the singular oblique, and *ana*, *ani*, *anā*, *anhi* for the plural.

If we turn to the pronouns, we find an oblique termination in the singular which in one class of dialects (High Hindi and other western types) is represented by *-ai*, *-ai*, and in another (the southern and eastern dialects) by *-hi*. Thus, from the stem *i* (*yah*, *ih*, *e*, &c.), the oblique is in the former class *is*, *ies*, and in the latter *gāhi*, *ihī*, *ai*; from the stem *u* (*uak*, *uh*, *o*), *us*, *uāhi*, *uhī*, *uā*; from the stems *ja*, *ji* (*ja*), *jān*, *jān*, *jāi*, *jāhi*, *jāhi*; from the stem *ta*, *tā* (*ta*, *tā*, *tān*, *tān*, *tān*, *tā*, *tāhi*, *tā*). With the pronouns of the first and second persons singular, *ham* (*mañ*) and *tū*, we find only the oblique in *h*—*rohi*, *mahi*, *ro*, and *tahi*, *tahi*, *to*; the second type in *a* is here represented by *mañh* and *tūh*, which in all probability stand for an older *mañai*, *tūai*, and thence for *mañay*, *tūay*. These inflected pronominal forms are used in old and poetic Hindi without any further affix, for all cases except that of the agent, and sometimes even, though rarely, for that also.

From these indications and the known laws of phonetic change it appears to be a fair conclusion that the ancient *-ahi* (*-aha*, *-hi*) of the singular of nouns is identical with an older *-asi* (*-asa*, *-ai*, *-as*);¹ and we are thus led to the Sanskrit genitive of *a*-stems ending in *-asya*. If we now turn to the Prākṛit, we find that the Sanskrit *asya* is represented by *-asa*, *-asa*, *āsa*, and, furthermore, that this genitive of one class of Sanskrit nouns has been applied to all masculine and neuter nouns in the language. We also find that of the five Sanskrit cases (not counting the accusative and the vocative, of which the former was at an early stage in Prākṛit assimilated to the nominative), the genitive termination is used to denote all except the instrumental and locative. We seem therefore to be justified in

¹ The required form *asi* to which these indications seem to point is reported by Dr. Trumpp (Introduction to *Ādi Granth*, p. cxxvi.) to exist in specimen of the oldest Hindi preserved in the *Granth*. Besides the explanation of the final *-i* suggested above, it is of course also possible that it may have arisen direct from the Sk. *asya* through solution of the nexus into *asī*.

concluding that the origin of the Hindi forms in *asi*, *asa*, *ahi*, *aha* is to be found in the Sk genitive *asya*, Pk *assa*, *āsa*, *āha*. The *i* used interchangeably with *a* as a termination has possibly arisen from the Prākṛit ablative, which in the Sauraseni dialect ends in *ī*. The tendency to fusion of case-terminations is probably that two terminations have been fused together; and as a fact, in the Prākṛit the ablative and genitive

became *māi*, and was used with other than pronominal stems, has contributed to the general oblique form *-ahi*, which also appears with *anunāsika*, as *ahīṃ*.

Applying these conclusions to our oldest specimens of Hindi, we may exhibit the development of the oblique singular hypothetically as follows. —

Masculine Nouns ending consonantly in Modern Hindi.

	<i>Sansk.</i>	<i>Prak</i>	<i>Early Hindi.</i>	<i>Mod Hindi.</i>
Nom.	vyāghrah	vaggho	bagghu, būghu	būgh
Obl.	vyāghrasya	{ vagghassa vagghāsa vagghāha vagghāhe }	{ bagghaha bagghahi, &c. } in Chand, &c. { baggha, būgha, in <i>Grantha</i>	{ } } būgh

Masculine Nouns ending in -ā in Modern Hindi

Nom	ghoṭakah	ghodāo	ghoran	ghorā
OM	ghotakavya	{ ghodāassa ghodāāsa ghodāāha ghodāāhe }	{ [ghorāhi] } { ghorāi }	ghore

where the hiatus existed; that is, augmented nouns in *-akāh*, the

ghorāhi, to the form ghore.

manah, *man* was as usual shortened to *m* in Hindi. We find ablatives in *-ahu*, *-au*, *-o*, and also in *-hi*, *-i*, *-ti*, in the Hindi of the *Ādi Granth* (as *manahu*, "from the mind," *āpan*, "from oneself,"

With pronouns another word, *tañ* (older form *tāñ*, in Rāmānand *thāñ*), is used as an accusative affix, but generally with the genitive particle *le*, though it is also found without (*us-ke tañ*, *us-tañ*), this is probably from the Sk. *sthāne*, Old H. *thāni*, *thām*. In the

sa- 'the form *sa* has arisen from *sam* by the weakening of the

[illegible]

the middle of," *utā*, "below," &c. The history of most of these is sufficiently clear. *Mā tākā* in the dialects and in Old Hindi the forms *uāhi*, *uāhā*, *māhi*, *māhā*, *māhī*, *māhā*, *mādhī*, &c., all of which point to the Sk. *madhyā*, locative of *madhya*. *Par* is in Marwari still *pārī*, and dialectically *pārī*, *pār*, *pā*. *Ūvārī* is the Sk. *apārī*, which has also yielded *ūpar*. *Talak* and *tak* are apparently longer and shorter forms of the same word, and have been connected with the Sk. *dhigha*, used in the same sense (by *dhigha* *dhaghi*, and with change of *d* to *t*, *n* to *l*, and dropping of the aspirate, *dhaghi*). *Lag*, *lāgi*, *lāgā*, also meaning "up to," are all descendants of the Sk. conjunctive participles *lagya* and *lāgita* (cf. *lag*, "to be attached"), in Pk. *lagia* and *lagiāna*.

The case of the agent is commonly called the *instrumental*; but it has not the full range of meanings belonging to the Sk. *instrumental*, and is restricted to the expression of the agent in passive verbal phrases. Its post-position is *ne* in the standard dialect, *Kanwajī* and *Gashwālī*, *reā* in *Brāj*, and *le* in *Kumāunī* and *Nepālī*. In the other dialects it does not exist, the crude oblique being used instead, or, as in *Māwājī* and *Mewārī*, a special oblique (in *-ai*, the usual oblique of *a-stems* being *-ā*) being employed for it. This post-position is very sparingly used in Old Hindi, and some have denied that it occurs at all in the oldest specimens; this statement, however, requires consideration. *Tulsi-Dās* does not use it, but his dialect is distinctly of the Eastern type, where it is still unknown.¹

We now come to the consideration of the analytic genitive in *-kā*. It is in the first place to be observed that this case is not, properly speaking, an inflexion of the noun, but an adjective derived from it, agreeing in gender, number, and case with the noun qualified: *hāyāhī glār* is not *patris domus*, but *paterna domus*. The Hindi adjective in *-ā* is inflected *toe* in the masculine singular oblique and throughout the plural, and to *-ī* in the feminine, both direct and

¹ The origin of this post-position has not yet been demonstrated. Mr. Beames would connect it with the old western accusative in *ne* or *nai* in use in the dialect round Delhi where the Urdu language took its origin, and he derives both from *cipt* or *cipti*; this, however, appears to be a somewhat violent transfer of meaning. Another theory would derive it from the Sanskrit *instrumental* of *a-stems*, in *-ena* (*gurmah-gam-parash-ah*); but this seems contrary to the analogy of all the other post-positions, which are independent particles (usually locatives or post) attached to the old genitive. *Ne* is found in Marāṭhī, the most Prakritic of the modern languages, but is there constructed, not with the crude oblique, as in Hindi, but with the genitive of the noun; thus, "by him," in Marāṭhī is *hāyāhī-ne*, the literal equivalent of which in Hindi would be *hāyāhī-ne*. It appears to the present writer possible that *ne* may have arisen out of the personal *instrumentals* *inf*, *and*, *inf*, *inf*, *inf*, which were in use down to a very recent period, and may still be heard in the dialects; the stem being recognized as *h*, *n*, *h*, &c., the *ni* might have been conceived to be a separate particle, and its use thus extended to nouns. This process might have been facilitated by the existence (which is certain) of the other *ne* used as an accusative affix (= *ko*), with which the *-ai* in *inf*, &c., may have been supposed to be connected. The obvious convergence of such a particle would, after its use had been thus originated, lead to its general application, just as the case post-positions generally, neglected in the archaic poetry, gradually commended themselves to acceptance as aids to clearness and logical coherence, and in the present day are universally employed.

a number of forms are met with. The oldest is probably *kerā*, inflected to *kerī*, *kerē*, *ker*; side by side with this we find *lāra*, *lari*, and lastly *kā* (क), feminine *lai*. In Chand and the language of the Bhagats we find *kērā*, *lāra*, *kāu*, *lō*, *lā*. The discovery of the

for mood, tense, person, &c., to an unchangeable stem or root. Thus, from the root *mār*, "beat," the infinitive is *mār-nā*, the present participle *mār-lā*, the past participle passive *mār-ā*, the *mār-ā*, the future thus not a cant word, singular of *lāhāi*, "he lies of tense

and person an easily separable and independent form

¹ In this sketch this tense is called the present, because it is the legitimate descendant of the ancient Sanskrit and Prākṛit present, but its use in the modern tongue is more often as a subjunctive or contingent future, though in many cases (especially in the older forms of the language) it still retains a present signification.

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as the stem; in the first class we have always to refer back to the modern root to a Prākṛit form conjugated on the *bhā* type, to the exclusion of other conjugations, of the Sanskrit verb. Together with the above two classes there exists (c) a small number of modern verbs which exhibit a double form and a corresponding active and neuter or passive sense, and which are derived, the active form from the Sanskrit present *parasmai* when that is active in meaning, or the Sanskrit causal when it is not, and the neuter from the Sanskrit present *parasmai* when it is neuter in meaning or from the Sanskrit passive when it is not. Finally, (d) a limited class of verbs (only six in modern Hindī, but more in some other languages of the family and in the older dialects) have passive past participles derived, through Prākṛit, direct from the Sanskrit equivalent form, and thus differing from the stem taken for all other parts of the verb. Examples of these various processes are given below —

(a)

Sansk root.	Sansk pres	Prāk pres	Hindī pres.	Hindī stem
√bhā	bhavati	hoti, hoi	hoi, howe	ho
√chal	chalati	chalai	chale	chal
√kamp	kampati	kampaī	kāmpo	kāmp
√bhram	bhramati	bhamaī	bhame, bhañwe	bham, bhañw
√yā	yāti	jādi, jādi, jāñ	jāo	jā
√wap	awapiti	supati, suvai	sowe	so
√apt	apitiyati	nachhai	nāche	nāch
√ak	śaknoti	śakhanoti	sako	śak
√khāḍ	khāyati	śakai	khāo	khā
√chary	khādai	chabhai	chābe	chāb
	charyati			

(b)

Sansk root	Sansk past part	Prāk past part	Hindī stem.
upa + √viś	upaviśtah	uvaltho	baith
pra + √viś	pravishat	palitho	paith
√pach	pakwah	pikko, pikko	pak
√śush	śushkah	sukkho	śukh
ā + √gam	āgatah	āao	āw, ā

(c) Double stems, — (1) where one form of the stem has come from the active and the other from the passive of Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

Root.	Sansk pres	Prāk pres	Hindī pres	Hindī root
√chhuṣ	chhotati	chhotai	chhore	chhor
√tul	ch'rutate	chhutai	chhūte	chhūṣ
√stambh	tolati	tolai	tole	tol
	tulyate	tullai	tule	tul
	stabhnoti	thambhai	thāñbhe	thāñbh
	stabhyate	thabhai	thāme	thām
	stambhate		thāñbhe	thāñbh

(2) where the neuter form is derived from the Sanskrit *parasmai* or *ātmanepada*, and the active from the Sanskrit causal: —

Root	Sansk pres	Prāk pres	Hindī pres	Hindī root
√sphat	sphatati	phatai	phato	phat
√sphuṣ	sphāṣavati	phālei	phire	phār
√tri	sphutai	phottai	photo	phot
	sphotayati	pholei	phore	phor
	tarati	tarai	tare	tar
	tārayati	tārei	tāre	tār

(d) The six verbs, the past part passive of which in Hindī exhibits

a different root from that which is used in the other formations, are the following:—

<i>konā</i> ,	root <i>ko</i> ,	p.p.p. <i>huā</i> , <i>bhauā</i> .
<i>marnā</i> ,	" <i>mar</i> ,	" <i>muā</i> .
<i>ānā</i> ,	" <i>jā</i> ,	" <i>gayā</i> , <i>giyā</i> .
<i>karnā</i> ,	" <i>kar</i> ,	" <i>kiyā</i> , <i>kinā</i> , <i>kinhā</i> , <i>kidhā</i> (last three archaic).
<i>denā</i> ,	" <i>de</i> ,	" <i>diyā</i> , <i>dinā</i> , <i>dinhā</i> , <i>dubhā</i> " "
<i>lenā</i> ,	" <i>le</i> ,	" <i>liyā</i> , <i>linā</i> , <i>linhā</i> , <i>lidhā</i> " "

The processes above explained appear to be those which, either directly or by analogy, yield the great majority of Hindi primary verbal stems. These are in most cases monosyllabic, dissyllables being due either (1) to the incorporation of a Sanskrit preposition, as *utar*, *sambhāl*, *nikāl*, (2) to the formation of verbs from reduplicated roots, chiefly onomatopoeic, or (3) to the addition of a syllable to a simple root for the purpose of giving a diminutive or other modified sense to it. But besides the primary stems there are secondary ones, conjugated throughout like the primaries, which may be divided into (1) regular developments of the simple stem, as passives and causals, and (2) denominatives, or verbs formed from nouns.

Of an organic *passive* there is in the standard dialect only a single relic in what is termed the *respectful imperative*. This exists in three forms, ending respectively in *-iye*, *-iyo*, and *-iyegā* (as *māriye*, *māriyo*, *māriyegā*); in its modern use it is restricted to courteous forms of address, and is constructed (by a forgetfulness of its origin) as an active verb in the second singular imperative. But in the older specimens of the language, and in some peculiar phrases which have survived to modern times, we find a wider range both of forms and meanings. Thus, a very frequent use of this form of the verb in poetry (and sometimes even in prose) is to express deliberation with oneself, either in the present, imperative, or even in a future sense. A large number of instances occur in the *Rāmāyan* where this form can only be construed as a simple passive. We even find a present participle passive, ending in *-iyat*. So also in the common word *chāhiye*, "it is necessary," there is no precativa or respectful sense; the literal meaning is—"it is wished," and in Panjabi we still have *chāhidā hai*. In the *Granth* a fully conjugated passive formed by adding *-ī* to the simple root exists (e.g., *hoīai*, *pāīai*, *bhāvāīai*, *jāīai*, 3d. pers. sing.; *kāīāni* 3d. pers. plur.). In the *Mārwāri* dialect there is still a complete form in *-ī*, as—active *karna*, passive *karīño*. All these come from the *Prākṛit* passive, which substituted *-īa*, strengthened in some dialects to *īja*, for the Sanskrit *y*; as Sk. *śrūyate*, Pk. *sunīadi*, *sunīai*, *sunījīai*. Both in Sanskrit and *Prākṛit* it was usual to employ the passive potential periphrastically, where respect was intended, for the imperative. Of the three Hindi forms *-iye* (anciently *-īai*, *-īgāī*) is the 3d. sing. pres., *-iyo* (anciently *-iyaku*) the 3d. sing. of the imperative or potential, and *-iyegā* the 3d. sing. of the synthetic future. When the verbal stem ends in *-ī*, and sometimes when it ends in *ā*, the concurrence of the vowels leads to the strengthening of *y* to *j*; e.g.,

√li + iye = liye; √ji + iye = jiye; √hā + iye = hāye. In older Hindi the origin of these forms (which are alone found in the older language) has been forgotten, and iye, &c., have been again added to the stem increased by j, as lijiye, lijiyo, hūjiye, &c.

The place of a passive in the modern language is taken by a compound verb made up of the past participle passive with jānā, "to go;" thus, mānā jānā, "to be beaten," mānā gayā, "he was beaten," mānā jāyā, "he will be beaten," &c. This form is undoubtedly ancient, being found frequently in Chand, the Granth, and the language of the Bhagata; but it is somewhat sparingly employed, the arrangement of the sentence being inverted so as to yield an active construction; moreover, the large number of neuter verbs with a passive sense in the language supplies to a great extent the need of a separate passive. The use of jānā in this manner seems to be a development peculiar to the modern languages, but it is easily intelligible; it is exactly parallel to the use of shudan, "to go," for the same purpose in Persian.

Causal in Hindi are of two grades, the single and the double causal. The first is made by the addition to the simple stem of the syllable ā (anciently and in the dialects āo, āā), and indicates that the condition implied in the simple verb is caused to exist, as ben-nā, "to be made," banā-nā, "to cause to be made, to make." The double causal is formed by adding to the simple stem the syllable aa (anciently and in the dialects wā, wāu), and indicates that the condition implied in the simple causal is caused to exist, as banā-nā, "to make," banā-nā, "to cause to make," sun-nā, "to hear," sunā-nā, "to cause to hear, to tell," sunā-nā, "to cause to tell." The older form of the simple causal, in ā, survives in a few modern verbs as o, as bhagnā, "to be wet," bhagnā, "to wet," dānā, "to sink (neut.) in water," dubā-nā, "to immerse." The vowel of the simple stem, if long, is regularly shortened before the causal affixes; and if the simple stem ends in a vowel, hiatus is avoided by the insertion of i (in the dialects r), as so-nā, sulā-nā, khā-nā, khālā-nā. A few verbs insert i (r) where no hiatus is possible, and in some the inserted i follows instead of preceding the added vowel; as delā-nā, dikhā-lānā, baṭhā-nā, bikhā-lānā, baṭhālā-nā. Of the first causal the origin is undoubtedly to be sought in the Sanskrit causals formed by inserting -āp between the gunated or reduplicated root and the causal termination -aya. In Sanskrit this practice is confined to a small number of roots; but in Prakrit, owing to the disappearance of the āya of the regular causal (which first became e and then fell out altogether) and the consequent want of determinate-

¹ This inserted i or r is difficult to explain; it has been connected by some with the Sanskrit causal in i, found in a few verbs, as from √pā, causal pāyati. On the other hand, Dr. Trumpp considers it to be merely euphonic, introduced to prevent hiatus; and in this view it may be paralleled by the singular insertion of r in Marathi passives after stems ending in a vowel, as lenā, torjina, dānā, darjina. Besides the irregular forms with i others exist in Braj, in which the hiatus is supplied by u as khānau, bhānau, pānau, pūnau, dikhānā, bikhānā, bikhānā, bikhānā, &c., are in common use, as well as dikhānā, bikhānā, bikhānā.

ness in its form, the *āp*-form of the causal came into greatly extended use, and, *p* being as usual softened to *v*, yielded the modern forms in *āv*, *āū*, and, by dropping the junction-vowel, *ā*. The double causal is apparently a purely modern development, and is an interesting illustration of the application of analogical processes to materials acquired from the ancient grammatical stock.

Denominatives are somewhat rare, and generally take the form of the first causal; they are most numerous with reduplicated and onomatopoeic stems, and are in all probability modern growths. In their form, however, they recall the Sanskrit denominatives, which are also formed on the model of the causal in *aya*. The employment of the causal form in this process is perhaps the reason why some Hindi verbs, though causal in form, are passive or neuter in sense) as *kahlānā* and *kahānā*, "to be called"; *ghabrānā*, "to be agitated."

The Conjugational System.—The tenses of the Hindi verb as compared with the ancient conjugational scheme exhibit poverty in synthetic and richness in analytic and participial combinations. Of the long array of Sanskrit synthetic tenses only two survive in modern Hindi, the present and the imperative; in the older language a third, the future, is found; all the other tenses are formed analytically. The process which has yielded the present condition of things is, however, a gradual one. Even in Sanskrit itself analytical formations exist (*ūndām chakāra*, *babhāra*, and *āsa*; *bodhitā'smi*; *tena gataṃ*, &c.) by the side of synthetical ones; and in the successive stages of Prākṛit we see the gradual disappearance of synthetic tense after tense. Where Prākṛit leaves off, Hindi begins:—with a present, future, and imperative synthetically formed, and all the other tenses provided for by means of participles either with or without auxiliary verbs. In an examination of conjugational forms, therefore, our attention will be addressed first to the relics of ancient synthesis, called by Mr Beames *the simple tenses*; secondly, to *the participial tenses*, those which consist of a participle alone, or of a participle to which is attached a fragment of the old substantive verb or other auxiliary, incorporated with the participle and no longer separable from it; and thirdly, to *the compound tenses*, consisting of participles and auxiliary verbs, in which the auxiliary is still separate and distinct. The first two classes are those which are mainly found in the older forms of the language, the third being represented chiefly in the modern, where the need of fine distinctions and multiplied forms of phrase is more felt than in the archaic and poetical speech. Lastly, some verbal forms not coming within the tense system will be noticed.

a. *The Simple Tenses.*—These are, as already stated, the present (now used chiefly in a potential or contingent future sense, the imperative, and the archaic future.

The present has in the modern language the following terminations; singular, 1st pers. *-āū*, 2d pers. *-e*, 3d pers. *-e*; plural, 1st pers. *-eū*, 2d pers. *-o*, 3d pers. *-eū*: as—*chālū*, 1st pers. *chālū*, 2d pers. *chale*, 3d pers. *chale*; plur., 1st pers. *chaleū*, 2d pers.

reduce the terminations of several persons to one common form. The 2d pers. plur. ends in Sanskrit in *-atha*; but in Prākṛit the ātmanepada form in *-adhve*, and another, properly belonging to the ātmanepada imperative, in *-adhvam*, early crept into the general scheme of the tense (the ātmanepada having been lost as a separate phase of the verb), so that we have in that language the terminations *-aha*, *-adha*, *-adham*, which last yields, by the passage of *dh* into *h*, and the solution of anuswāra into anunāsika and *u*, the former of which has been lost, the archaic Hindi *ahu* and the modern *au*, *o*; the Garhwāli *-ā* apparently sprang from *-aha*. The 3d pers. plur. always ends in Prākṛit, as in Sanskrit, in *-anti*, which by the loss of *t* yields *-ani*, *-an*, and by the conversion of the nasal into anunāsika and its transfer to the second vowel *aīū*, *aūū*, *eū*; the inserted *h* in the old forms seems to be merely an avoidance of hiatus, though it is possible here also to suppose an old *-asanti* from *√as*, yielding *ahanti*, *ahani*, *ahiū*.

The imperative in the modern language does not differ from the present except in the 2d sing., which is the verbal root only, without any affix; in Old Hindi, however, we find in the 2d sing. the terminations *-csi*, *-si*, *-asu* (*-as* in Awadhī and Riwāī) *ahi*, *-i*, *ahu*, *u*; as—*mānasi*, *rachesi*, *parakhesu*, *karahi*, *sunahu*, *badi*, *taji*, *bhaju*. The 3d sing. has the terminations *ahu*, *aū*, *hu*, *u*; the 2d plur. in Old Hindi ends in *ahu*, *chu*, *aū*. The other persons resemble those of the present. In Prākṛit we find the explanation of all these forms. The 2d sing. regularly assumed *-ahi* in place of the usual Sanskrit *-a*, extending to all conjugations the use of this termination, which is similarly used in Vedic Sanskrit, but in the classical language only in the 2d, 3d, 7th, and 9th conjugations; *ahi* shortened yielded *i*. The other forms in *csu*, *asi*, *as*, *aku*, *u*, sprang out of the ātmanepada form, Sk. *-asva*, Pk. *assu*, which was used in later Prākṛit interchangeably with the parasmaipada. The 3d singular *aū* is pure Prākṛit, for the Sk. *atu*, Pāli *adu*; *ahu* arises from *h* inserted to avoid hiatus. The other persons agree with the present, and, except the 3d plur. in *-antu*, were confounded with it as early as the Prākṛit stage.

The archaic future is found in the present day only in Braj, Kanauji, the Rājputānā dialects, and some persons of the future in Awadhī, Riwāī, and Bhojpurī; it is, however, in common use in the Rāmāyan and in all older Hindi poetry. There are two types of it, having for their characteristics respectively *h* and *s*; the latter is the oldest. Of the *s*-type the following is the scheme; it exists in Mārwarī in the present day, and is found frequently in the *Granth*:—

Older Type, in <i>Granth</i> . (Nāmdeo, Kabīr, Nānak).		Present Mārwarī.
Sing.	{ 1st pers. mār-asāh	mār-asāh, mār-asāh
	{ 2d " mār-asah	mār-as
	{ 3d " mār-asī, -asu	mār-as
Plur.	{ 1st " {mār-asahih}	mār-asāh
	{ 2d " {mār-asahin}	mār-asyo, mār-as
	{ 3d " {mār-asahih}	mār-as

¹ The forms in brackets are supplied from analogy, the writer not having met them in his reading.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

(Faint, illegible handwritten notes)

[illegible]

tional past. A peculiar form occurs in the *Rāmāyan* in a past conditional sense, which has incorporated into it what we must

^a And, still we must go, to be, we have:—

		Awadhi.		
		Male	Fem	
Sing.	1st pers.	hotyañ	hotiañ	hotyañ
	2d "	hot	hoti	hoties
	3d "	hot	hoti	hwai
Pres.	1st "	hotya or hotia		hotia
	2d "	hotya	hotia	hotya
	3d "	hote	hoti	hwai

¹ These forms look like remnants of quite another conjugation, the *Ex.*

die, jānyā, mānyā). It is evident from these that the *-la* is an augment added to a participle already formed on the type in *-ita* ;

has led, as in the case of the present participle, to the use of the past participle

more closely corresponding

(which is not added in the poets contracted to *prā. pr. m. l. pr. m. l.* to *khā, khā*); *prā. pr. m. l. pr. m. l.* then *khā, khā*—“I am going that I may beat,” = “I am going to beat,” or “I will beat.”

The other form is used in Bengali and the Hindustani dialects of Kumaon, Garhwāl, and Nepal. It is exactly parallel to the *prā. pr. m. l. pr. m. l.* form, except that instead of *prā. pr. m. l. pr. m. l.* it is the termination of the present *khā (khā)*, &c. *L* is also the characteristic termination of the future in Marathi. It seems probable that in this case we have the past participle *logā*, reduced to *khā, khā*, from the verb *logā*, “begin.”

c. *The Compound Tense*.—These are formed by adding to the

apart in the sentence from its future. The tenses so formed are numerous, and sometimes express very fine shades of meaning; they have grown up for the most part out of modern needs and variations after precision, and though extremely interesting when considered from the logical side of grammar, are not so in practice.

lan

21

1. *prā. shall*
21 = *ahat. ahāt. āhī, āhī, āhī*
22 = *ahāt. āhī, āhī, āhī*

Prā. pr. m. l. pr. m. l.
ahāt. ahāt. āhī
ahāt. āhī
ahāt. āhī, āhī, āhī

These forms take us back, according to the principles of derivation already set forth, to a Sanskrit and Prākṛit tense which should exhibit the following scheme—

Sanskrit
Sing. 1st pers. *asmi*; 2d pers. *asi*; 3d pers. *asti*
Plur. 1st pers. *asmah*; 2d pers. *asvāḥ* (asadhvāḥ); 3d pers. *asanti*

Prākṛit
Sing. 1st pers. *aham*; 2d pers. *ahā*; 3d pers. *ahā*
Plur. 1st pers. *ahanta*; 2d pers. *ahāḥ*; 3d pers. *ahanti*

Such a tense would result from conjugating *√as* according to the *āhā*-form, and we have seen that all Sanskrit roots as a rule take

this form, whatever their conjugation in Sanskrit, in Prākṛit. But the root *as* in the latter language is an exception, the forms being derived direct from the Sanskrit tense, which follows the *ad*-conjugation—Sk. *asmi, asi, asti, sīnah, stha, santi*; Pk. *amhi, ai, atthi, amha, attha, santi*. It seems beyond doubt that we are justified in assuming, although no specimens of such a tense have yet been found in literary Prākṛit, that it did exist in the popular language and has been the parent, first of the archaic, and then of the modern Hindī.

This auxiliary is used with the present participle to form an absolute present, as *dekhtā hai*, "he is seeing;" and with the past participle to form an absolute past, as *us-ne dekhā hai*, "he has seen." Besides this much used present tense, some have referred to the root *as* the Braj and Mārwarī past participle (used as a past tense), masc. *ho*, plur. *he*, fem. *hī*, plur. *hīū*; this may have come from a past participle *asīta*, through a Prākṛit form *ahīo, ahīeo*, possible early Hindī *ahyau, aho*; it seems, however, more probable that *ho* is to be connected with *thā* (to which it corresponds) by the passage of *th* into *h*. Another participle used to form a past in Kanauji is *hato*, plur. *hate*, fem. *hatī*, plur. *hatīū*; this is most probably from the Sanskrit pres. participle *asan*, Pk. *asanto, ahanto, ahantao*, Hindī *ahatai, hato*. The change of meaning with this participle from present to past has parallels in other Indo-Aryan languages. The present participle *santo* is also used in Eastern Hindī in the inflected form for *hote* in the locative absolute, as—*yah asakya sante*, "this being impossible."

√*Acheh* is a root not found in classical Sanskrit, but common in Prākṛit in the sense of *standing, being, existing*. It has been supposed by some that it is a modification of √*as*, and by others that it is the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit √*aksh*. It is not used in High Hindī, but is largely employed in substitution for the auxiliaries derived from √*as* in Mewārī, the Himālayan dialects, Tirhūtī, and the Dakhnī dialect of Urdū; in Oriyā and Bengali it is the common auxiliary, and is also much used in Marāṭhī under the form *as* (*ch* and *chh* becoming *s* in that dialect). In all the Hindī dialects but Dakhnī it has lost its initial vowel, which is retained in Bengali, Oriyā, and Marāṭhī. The following tenses of it are found in Hindī:—

	Present ("I am," &c.)					
	Singular.			Plural.		
	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.
<i>Kumāunī</i>	chhiyaunī	chhai	chhi	chhiyaunī	chhai	chhi
<i>Garhwālī</i>	chhiyaunī	chhai	chhi	chhiyaunī	chhai	chhi
<i>Mewārī</i>	chhiyaunī	chhai	chhi	chhiyaunī	chhai	chhi

Past (properly a participle = "I was," &c.): *Kumāunī*, sing. masc. *chhiyo*, plur. masc. *chhiyā*; *Mewārī*, *chho, chhā*; *Garhwālī* has a different root for this tense.

√*Frī* is found as an auxiliary in substitution for √*as* in the Awadhī and Bhojpūrī dialects; the following forms are in use—*Awadhī*, sing., 1st pers. *bātyenū*, 2d pers. *bāte*, 3d pers. *bāte*;

plur., 1st pers. *bāṭī*, 2d pers. *bāṭyo*, *bāṭeṣi*, 3d pers. *bāṭaṭ*; *Bhojpurī* has *bāṭe*, *bāṭe* for all persons in both numbers. These forms are from the Sanskrit present *ātmanepada* *varīṣat*, &c., through the Prākṛit *raṭai*. It is probably to this stem (and not to *√bhū*) that we must refer the indeclinable *bā*, much used throughout the Eastern Hindī area as far west as Allahabad, and the Bhojpurī forms *bāṭ* in *baṭ* and *baṭi* (sing. and plur.).

...ial auxiliary in
...sing., 1st pers. *thiyā*, 2d pers. *thū*, 3d pers. *thiyā*,
present and past participles thus—*maiñ dekhā thā*, "I was seeing,"
maiñ-ne dekhā thā, "I had seen." *Thā* is from *sthā*, as is
proved by its forms in Nepālī and Garhwālī; in the former it makes,
with incorporation of the substantive verb, a regular participial
tense,—sing., 1st pers. *thiyā*, 2d pers. *thū*, 3d pers. *thiyā*,
plur., 1st pers. *thiyāñ*, 2d pers. *thiyāu*, 3d pers. *thiyā*. The
Garhwālī form is *thay*, masc. sing., *thayā*, masc. plur., *thai*, fem.
sing. and plur.

The next participants of the game were the 11th and 12th

turn ste ho. The derivation of this word has not yet been explained.

The root *lā* is one of great importance in the modern languages, as it is chiefly by its means that the more elaborate modifications of tense and mood are effected. The auxiliaries hitherto discussed express only simple present and past time. Derivatives of *lā* are

sk. bhutish, PK. hūo); the former is from a formation in -va, Thavital, which would in Prakrit be hāto. In the dialects also the stem *ho* frequently carries the vowel *to* *u*, assuming the form *hūto*, *hūu*. Of this root we have the following tenses in common use; (1) a present, *hove*; (2) an imperative, *ho*; (3) a future, *hoyā* (dial. *hoi*, *hūoi*, *hūoiho*, *hūoiho*, *hō*, *hōho*); (4) a passive or respectful imperative *hōje*, *hōjye*; (5) a present participle *hōi* (dial. *hōvāto*, *hūto*, *hūu*, *hō*, *hōvā*); (6) a past participle, *hōya*, *hūi* (dial. *hōvāu*, *hōvāu*, *hū*, *hōvā*); besides various tenses made by combining *ho* with those the other auxiliary. To this root also apparently belongs a Praj. past tense *hōvā* 'e, -i, used as a reduplicate (*hōvā* 'e, *hōvā* 'i) is probably from the PK. *gove* part.

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	Singular.			Plural.		
	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.
<i>Kumāunī</i>	chhiyaunī	chhal	chha	chhiyaū	chhā	chhan, chhiā
<i>Gurjarālī</i>	chhiyaū	chhai	chha	chhiyaū	chhan	chhan
<i>Mewārī</i>	chhiū	chhal	chhal	chhiū	chha	chhal

Past (properly a participle = "I was," &c.): *Kumāunī*, sing. masc. *chhiyo*, plur. masc. *chhiyā*; *Mewārī*, *chho, chhā*; *Gurjarālī* has a different root for this tense.

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plur., 1st pers. *bāṭi*, 2d pers. *bāṭro*, *bāṭren*, 3d pers. *bāṭe*; *Bhojpuri* has *bāṭe*, *bā'e* for all persons in both numbers. These forms are from the Sanskrit present *ārambhāṣi* *varāṣi*, etc. through the Prakrit *rotāṭi*. It is probably to this stem *rotāṭi* that we must refer the indeclinable *bā*, much used throughout the Eastern Hindi area as far west as Allahabad and the *Bhojpuri* forms (used in questions and answers) *bāṭe* (1st sing. and plur.) *bāro* (2d sing. and plur.) *bāṭe* (3d sing. and plur.). *√Sthā* has yielded the common *sthai* (1st sing. and plur.) Hindi, sing. masc. *sthai*.

Hindi, sing. masc. *dhī*, plur. *dhī*, from *dhī*. Plur. *dhī* used with
 present and past participles thus—*dhī dhī* "I was seeing";
dhī dhī "I had seen". This is from *dhī*, as is
 main-ne dekha *dhī* "I had seen". This is from *dhī*, as is
 proved by its forms in Nepali and Garhwali; in the former it makes
 with incorporation of the substantive root, a regular present
 tense,—sing., 1st pers. *dhī*, 2d pers. *dhī*, 3d pers. *dhī*;
 plur., 1st pers. *dhī*, 2d pers. *dhī*, 3d pers. *dhī*.
 Garhwali form is *dhī*, sing. masc. *dhī*, plur. *dhī*.
 sing. and plur.

The past participle of the root *dhī* "to see"
 remain") is used in the form *dhī* "seen".

The past participle of the stem *ra* in the Hindi sense of "remain" is used in the Eastern dialects of the Hindi group of *Urdu*, *Turkhi*, and the language of the *Pathans* as a *verb* to form a past tense; as *jo kachh* *raha* *hai* = "I have remained" or "I have been" = *raha*.

The root *hi* is one of great importance as it is chiefly by its means that the derivation of this word has not yet been explained.

[illegible]

huvanta, huantan, which occurs in Old Hindi under the form *hūnta* as a past tense. Of the six forms above given, the present, future, and present participle are constantly used as auxiliaries, the root chiefly as independent tenses.

Lastly, the verb *karnā*, "to do," is much used in rustic Eastern Hindi to form periphrastic tenses with the gerund, where in the standard dialect a form of the verb itself would be employed. The gerund which appears in this idiom is that derived from the Sk. future passive participle, ending in the nom. in *-ibā*, oblique *-ibe*, and the construction is most common in negative sentences.

d. *Other Verbal Forms*.—Under this head it will suffice to mention (1) the conjunctive participle, (2) the infinitive or gerund, and (3) the noun of agency.

The *conjunctive participle* in standard Hindi appears either under the form of the verbal stem only (as *mār*, *chal* = "having beaten," "having gone"), or more commonly under that of the stem increased by the addition of *kar*, *ke*, *karkē*, or *karkar*; as *mārkār*, *chalke*, *uḥkarkē*, *sunukarkar*. It is very much used to link together subordinate clauses in narration, and forms one of the chief features of the Indian as opposed to the English syntax. This construction, like that of the agent and the passive participle, is a survival from Sanskrit and Prākṛit. In archaic Hindi this participle ends in *-ī*, as *māri*, *kari*, *sunī*, and when the root ends in a long vowel, sometimes in *-e*, as *khīe*, *pīe*, *bulāe*, *jāe*. In Chhand a still longer form, in *-īz*, is found. It corresponds to the Prākṛit conjunctive participle in *-ia*, as *karia*, *sunia*, which are in Sanskrit *kṛitwā*, *śrutwā*. In the latter language this participle takes both the terminations *-m* and *-tā*, the former chiefly in compound roots and the latter in simple ones; but in the northern Prākṛits the former, resolved to *-ī*, is alone used. A survival of the Sanskrit *-tā* is, however, found in Mārwārī, where the conjunctive participle ends in *-ūne* (*marūne*, *sunūne*, &c.); this represents the Prākṛit *-āna*, formed from the Sanskrit *-tānam*, accusative of *-tā*, by the loss of the *t* and vocalization of the *n*; as Sk. *mṛitwā*, Pk. *marāūna*, Mārwārī *marūne*. The affix *kar* (older *kari*) is itself the conjunctive participle of *karnā*, and was added when, owing to the loss of the final *-ī*, the verbal root only remained, and need was felt of greater distinctness.

The *conjunctive participle* is not only much used as a connective for the members of a sentence, but in composition with ancillary verbs forms a vast number of compounds, the nature of which is clear from the older forms of the language, in which the first member always appears with the final *-ī* or *īya*. In these the idea of separate action contained in the participle has been lost, and the two words express only one act. Such words are *le-ānā* (contracted *lānā*), "to bring" (lit., "having taken to come"); *khā-jānā*, "to eat up" (lit., "having eaten to go"); *pī-lenā*, "to drink down"; *phēnk-denā*, "to throw away," &c.

The modern *infinitive* is really a gerund, the Sanskrit infinitive in *-tum* having entirely disappeared. It ends in the standard dialect in *-nā*, inflected *-ne*, fem. *-nī*, plur. *-nūn*. In the dialects it

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